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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1783

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CZECHOSLOVAK-HUNGARIAN LITERARY INTERCHANGE

Prague TVORBA in Czech No 9, 27 Feb 80 p 14

[Interview with Prof Laszlo Dobossy from Eotvos Lorand University in Budapest by Oldrich Knichal, Budapest, date of interview not given]

[Text] Most translators from Czech are his students. Professor Laszlo Dobossy from the Eotvos Lorand University in Budapest has done a respectable job toward rapprochement between our nations. The Magveto Publishing House in Budapest is preparing a publication of his study concerning Czech-Hungarian cultural relations. What is the role of the literatures of these nations in helping to know one another better and what factors influence this literary exchange? This is the question we posed to the author.

[Answer] The concept of world literature has basically changed in the last 30 years. Since the 1950's, world literature has been enriched by literatures of small nations which previously were excluded from this framework. Such authors as Capek, Hasek or Olbracht can no longer be omitted from the overall stream of world literary activity. This puts new obligations and tasks on the intermediaries, namely, the translators and intellectuals. Why? A translator from traditional world literature has at his disposal such aids and tested methods which hardly exist when we talk of the literature of small nations. This brings forward various obstacles and misunderstanding in the practical work of translators and interpreters.

I remember my translation of Komensky's "Labyrint Sveta a Raj Srdce" [World Labyrinth and Heart's Paradise] which was done before the war. To translate into Hungarian this rich baroque text was in itself a hard nut for a translator. The translator of similar texts from English or French follows well-trodden paths.

[Question] To what extent has Czech literature influenced Hungarian literary thought in recent decades?

[Answer] The year 1951 was a milestone. It was the year in which a cultural agreement was signed based on the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation

and Mutual Assistance. Since that time, literary interchange has been conducted in a programmatic and planned way and Hungarian readers have had a chance to familiarize themselves with the major works of Czech and Slovak literature.

Our mutual contacts naturally go back many decades and they have continued in spite of previously unfavorable political circumstance. Already during the past century one could read in Hungary much about Czech literature in connection with Hanka's falsification of "Rukopisy". Or, we can cite Palacky's study on Hungarian poetry or Dobrovsky's correspondence with Hungarian scientists or B. Nemcova's travel sketches about her trip to Hungary. Neruda interpreted Petofi, and later Vrchlicky introduced into the Czech language the most significant works of Hungarian literature.

Culture was also able to find its own path during the interwar period. In 1936 an anthology of modern Czech and Slovak poets--Wolker, Nezval, Biebl, Siefert, Hora and others--was published in Budapest. This anthology was compiled by well-known poets--Atilla Jozsef, Gyula Illyes and Lorinc Szabo. Capek's novels were also published. The Budapest theater Vigszinhaz produced Capek's drama "R.U.R." Also published were Olbracht's "Nikola Suhaj" and "Golet v Udoli" as well as Hasek's "Svejk."

Since 1951 the number of titles and copies of published books has been increasing constantly. The Hungarian public has a chance to read other works by Komensky, including those he wrote during his stay in Sarissky Potok [Sariss' Creek] as well as Neruda's poems and "Malostranske Povidky" [Stories from Mala Strana]. Alois Jirasek, with his historical novels, has become a favored author. His books, as well as those by Capek, Olbracht and Hasek are published in Hungary in large numbers and are selling extremely well. However, cultural interchange is also a political affair. Thus, works are also published which, because of their specificity and authenticity, have not yet become well known in a different national environment but whose significance is undisputable--as for example B. Nemcova's "Babicka" [Grandmother].

Among contemporary Czech authors the Hungarian public has given a favorable reception to L. Fuks, V. Neff and Otcenasek's novel "Romeo, Julie a Tma" [Romeo, Juliet and the Darkness], B. Hrabal, and certain novels by V. Paral. Czech poetry, too, is given relatively consistent attention even if there are only few Hungarian poets able to master Czech.

[Question] Is the situation in the area of literary science also so favorable?

[Answer] Until now almost nothing or only a little has been translated from Czech essays and scientific literature. Only now work is in progress on translating selected chapters from Palacky's "Dejiny Naroda Ceskeho" [History of the Czech Nation]. As far as Salda is concerned, the only translation done so far has been his study entitled "O Nesmiritelnosti

Dila Basnickeho" [Irreconcilability of Poetry Work] which was published in 1942, although this author is recognized in our country as the most significant Czech literary thinker of the modern era. As far as the works of Z. Nejedly are concerned, the only translation published in Hungary so far has been a selection from his music studies published in the 1960's.

[Question] What is the situation as far as Slovak literature is concerned?

[Answer] Here, the situation is somewhat different. During the past century, certain Slovak authors were published in Hungary even if the translation was of inferior quality. We can speak of a systematic translation and publication only since the time of the liberation or since the signing of the cultural agreement. However, the problem of quality of translation persists. Translators in the Slovak Socialist Republic, while fluent in both languages, lack literary training on the whole. I believe that the most important problem we are facing today--as far as Slovak and Hungarian literature is concerned--is not so much the filling of the existing gaps but rather translations of superior quality. So far Hungarian readers could read the major works of A. Sladkovic, J. Bott and especially those of Hviezdoslav. As far as modern Slovak authors are concerned, I would list L. Novomesky, J. R. Ponican, and others.

Regrettably, similarly as in the Czech case, we are translating in sufficient numbers neither works in the literary-scientific genre nor historical prose. In this respect I have in mind my late friend A. Matuska and among younger authors, J. Stevcek. Essays by V. Minac are very stimulating from the Hungarian point of view, especially because they offer an insight into Slovak national identity. It is important that our nations know one another better. In this respect an extremely important service is being offered by studies and essays formulating the above problems. Hence, it is necessary to publish, in addition to Salda and Nejedly, Krcmery, Matuska and Minac and, among the Hungarian authors, L. Nemeth, for example.

[Question] What is the situation the other way, namely, familiarity with Hungarian authors in Czechoslovakia?

[Answer] During the interwar period, the Czech and Slovak public were informed about Hungarian culture through the Slovaks. Such "liaison function" was performed, for example, by poets E. B. Lukac and Jan Smrek. Here, too, a turning point occurred after 1951 when the works of Jokai, Mikszath, Morics and of poets such as Ady and Atilla Joszef were published in Czech. The translations I had a chance to see--for example, Madach's "Human Tragedy" and Ady's Radnoti's verses--are of high artistic value.

In Slovakia, the interest in Hungarian literature was more spontaneous. Here, one can speak not only of the present but also of the influence of certain authors, specifically poets. For example, during the interwar period the influence of Ady's poetry on the art of E. B. Lukac, J. Smrek, V. Beniak and S. Krcmery was so big that there were disputes regarding whether this influence was not a harmful one.

[Question] At the beginning you mentioned the problems of our mutual interchange with reference to the literature of large nations. What is being done in Hungarian circles to improve the existing situation of Bohemian and Slovak studies?

[Answer] In the first place, we are training intermediaries, which means that I am not talking exclusively about translators. We are giving them basic information concerning the language, literature and mutual relations within the context of the historical and cultural development. Within the framework of cooperation between the Lorand Eotvos University and Charles University, our students have a chance to complete a major part of their study in Prague, to acquaint themselves with the theoretical and practical questions of Czech cultural life because one cannot understand the contemporary language without a systematic contact with its environment. At the same time, we are emphasizing our common points and the mutuality of development--the influence of the Hussite period, of Komensky, Dobrovsky, Jungmann, Kollar....

[Question] Can you tell us what is your surprise for our readers and especially for Hungarian circles concerning Bohemian studies?

[Answer] Not long ago, I published in the periodical "Ceska Literatura" a long article on Nejedly on the occasion of his 100th birthday. In addition to the above-mentioned book on Czech-Hungarian cultural relations I have completed, I hope, an interesting study concerning the question which in the last century was dealt with by three authors in different periods and different national communities: Hungarian, Slovak and Czech. This was the epoch of the last Hussite fighters, the so-called "Little Brethren," under the leadership of Jan Jiskra from Brandys, who fought in Hungary of that time. In the 1830's this theme became the subject for a historical novel by M. Josika, entitled "Cesi v Madarsku" [Czechs in Hungary]. In the 1860's, Kubani borrowed this theme for his novel "Valgata" and at the end of the century Jirasek revived it in his "Bratrstvi" [Brotherhood].

In addition, I am preparing a study concerning the influence of Hussitism in Hungarian literature and history. In this connection I plan to point to those unofficial and spontaneous contacts between our two cultures. The Hussite tradition has been very effective in Hungarian history because it deeply affected social and cultural development. The writer L. Nemeth wrote a drama about Jan Hus which will soon be produced at the Hungarian National Theater.

[Question] What would you wish most in the future?

[Answer] I wish that our cultural and literary cooperation should be able to suppress a formalistic character according to which the exchange of our literary works is related exclusively to what the agreement prescribes and what it does not.

Here, I would like to change the topic. Last year, Janacek's opera "Smart Fox" had great success in the Hungarian People's Republic. I would like to know why this author who represents the same thing as Bartok or Kodaly in Hungarian music should have been discovered so late. I sincerely believe that Czech art and literature possess such works which can not only enrich but also influence Hungarian cultural life. It is necessary that the second culture--contemporary and past--be permanently present and able to penetrate the opposite cultural environment as its organic part.

1277
CSO: 2400

STATE SECURITY ACTIVITIES AGAINST DOMESTIC, FOREIGN ENEMIES

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 20 Mar 80 p 3

[Article by Mehmet Caka, deputy minister of internal affairs: "A Sharp Weapon in the Hands of the Party and the People"]

[Excerpts] The State Security branch was created 37 years ago, on 20 March 1943, at the command of and under the direct attention of the party and of Comrade Enver Hoxha personally, in the fire of the great anti-fascist National Liberation Struggle. From the beginning of its activity, the State Security branch, assured of the leadership of the party and the powerful support of the people, has made its contribution to the destruction of any overt or covert subversive activity of foreign occupiers and their tools. During the first national conference of the Albanian Communist Party Comrade Enver Hoxha said that "the intelligence network is essential for the continuation of the successful struggle, with few losses, against occupiers and saboteurs. Intelligence is one of the requirements for victory. It is the eyes and the ears of the struggle. "The intelligence network, which arose from within the partisan formations, honorably executed its delicate tasks aimed at any enemy activity and achieved victory after victory in the execution of the duties set by the party.

In the struggle to expose and destroy the many agenturas and hostile groups during the early years of liberation, the State Security organs, under the care of the party, elevated their work to a new level and made it impenetrable. Where does the strength and impenetrability of this sharp weapon reside? In the continuing leadership and control of the basic party organizations, in the close ties with and support of the people, in the purity of the moral and political character of its workers, and in the rigorous implementation of socialist laws and work norms.

When we open the pages of the history of the State Security organs, we see that internal and external enemies have tried and continue to try to separate them from the party and the people and to turn them into a weapon against them. The revisionist Yugoslav agentura had this aim, employing the Trotskyite traitor Koci Xoxe, who wanted to violate the Marxist-Leninist norms and principles of our party and to place the party under the police control of the Sigurimi. But thanks to the farsightedness of

the party and of Comrade Enver Hoxha, personally, this agentura received its deserved punishment, as will happen to all who attempt to stop our progress.

The ideological maturity, vigilance, and combat readiness of the State Security organs shone forth with a new strength when the Krushchevite revisionists and their followers, in addition to organizing a fierce economic blockade, also exerted military and political pressures and blackmail. In the uncovering and attacking of the big plot headed by Teme Sejko and Panajot Plaku, who were directed by foreign imperialist-revisionist intelligence services, one finds the sacrifices, wisdom, sharpness, bravery, and lucidity of the State Security organs, educated and guided by the party.

The history of the party, of the people and of our country is a history of battles with many enemies who have attacked and continue to attack us and who by various forms and methods, have tried and continue to try to destroy our victories which have been achieved with blood and sweat. But the State Security branch has always remained a sharp sword over the heads of the domestic and foreign enemies. In accordance with the teachings of the party and under its direction, the State Security organs made their contribution to the disruption of the plot of the putschist group of Beqir Balluku, Petrit Dume, and Hito Cako in the armed forces, of the saboteurs Abdyl Kellezi, Koco Theodhosi and Kico Ngjela in the economy, and Fadil Pacrami and Todi Lubonja in the field of ideology activities discovered and unmasked by the party. They uncovered facts and documents which completely exposed these enemies of the party and of our people's government. The facts which were presented clearly showed their ties with intelligence services of the capitalist-revisionist states.

Revolutionary vigilance is necessary everywhere, in every work sector and battle front and in evey situation. For the organs and departments of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, vigilance is of special importance in light of the conditions created, when the imperialist-revisionist blockade and encirclement have worsened, when all the enemies, set up in a barricade, are attempting to humiliate socialist Albania, the true country of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Therefore, the party and Comrade Enver command that each worker of the State Security branch should always remain in a revolutionary position, should know and properly understand the domestic and foreign political situation, should have a taste for the class struggle and develop it consistently, should distinguish between friend and enemy and have a correct, principled stand of love for the people and severity toward the enemy.

The name and the character of the State Security worker has been and remains very dear to the people and the party. The 700 "silent heroes" who have given their lives, without hesitation, to defend the victories achieved for the party and the revolution have remained eternal in the hearts and memory of the people.

The State Security organs have taken a number of measures to improve their revolutionary vigilance and the effectiveness of their activity, further perfecting them and putting them on more scientific bases. The guiding and controlling role of the party in the entire activity has been further strenthened; the ties and cooperation with the people have been improved; the ideological, political, professional, and military level of the entire force has been elevated, which makes it possible to prevent, discover and attack in time any type of hostile and malevolent activity.

CSO: 2100

CPCZ WEEKLIES CRITICIZE MASARYK

'TRYBUNA' Attack

Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No 8, 20 Feb 80 p 9

[Article by Miroslav Solc]

[Excerpt] The course of events in our country after January 1968 once again placed the name of T. G. Masaryk and his views in the center of ideological struggle. Right-wing and antisocialist forces dusted off his anticommunist and antisoviet views. They presented "Masaryk's democracy" and "Masaryk's humanism" as an example of socialist democracy and socialist humanism. As Masaryk had done before, the right-wing and antisocialist forces attacked the leading role of the working class and the Communist Party, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and proletarian internationalism. They denied the international validity of Leninism and launched attacks against the Soviet Union. Masarykism became an instrument of the extreme right and antisocialist forces. This can be clearly seen from a book by Milan Machovec entitled T.G. MASARYK, published in 1968. In the foreword to the book's second edition, the author states: "When I completed the manuscript of this book in July 1967, I wrote at the end of the preface that I wrote the book also because of the significance of 'when is what being said' and added that I had in mind 'what the emerging tomorrow pressingly though unconsciously elevates into social awareness.' I sensed that the Masaryk cause was again becoming a topic, that it is an issue of the emerging 'tomorrow.' However, I did not know that this desire would become a reality in such an unbelievably short time and in such a fantastic way. Even before the printing of the first edition of my book in March 1968, Masaryk became once again--in the eyes of our public--personification of the aspirations of those days, an example, a memento, a hope...."

Yes, Masaryk became a hope of bourgeois and counterrevolutionary forces calling for the restoration of capitalism in Czechoslovakia. For this reason, the "Lesson from the crisis development in the party and society in the period following the 13th CPCZ Congress" warns about the danger of Masarykism. The Lesson emphasizes that in the social structure of our

society during the pre-Munich Republic, the numerically strong petit bourgeois elements exercised great influence on our village and urban populations. These elements represented a significant political trend with a great tradition, strong organizational structure, and a crystallized petit bourgeois ideology of Nationalism, Masarykism and social democracy which was deeply rooted and which penetrated even certain parts of the working class.

Masarykism lives on in the thinking of certain people even today. This is the reason why bourgeois propaganda is exploiting Masarykism even at the present time in its struggle against the socialist system in Czechoslovakia.

In 1976 I published in the Ostrava NOVA SVOBODA a series of articles entitled "Masarykism--One of the Ideological Sources of Opportunism." This series had a great response among readers. I received a number of letters which agreed with my position. But I also got letters whose authors disagreed with me. Some of them (all of them writing anonymously) reacted rudely. Others tried to argue and defend Masaryk against my opinions and the facts I had presented.

For this reason it is necessary to continue to talk about these problems in our propaganda. We must uncover the real face of Masarykism. We must try to eradicate the Masaryk legend and its survivals in the minds of the people which our enemies are still exploiting. After all, the analysis of the program calling for a return to Masaryk's democracy and Masaryk's humanitarian ideals propagated by right-wing and antisocialist forces during the crisis years of 1968-19[illegible] showed that it was a program for a return to the pre-Munich days and for a restoration of capitalism with all its consequences: unemployment, hunger, shooting into the masses of the working people, and the entire bourgeois morass morality. It was a program for separating Czechoslovakia from the socialist community and for liquidating the decisive guarantees of our national and state independence.

'TVORBA' on 'Masarykism'

Prague TVORBA in Czech No 9, 27 Feb 80 p 10

[Article by Miroslav Solc]

[Excerpt] T. G. Masaryk in his work took not only an anti-Marxist but also an anti-Leninist position. He did so by trying to contrast Lenin with Marx and Leninism with Marxism.

Masaryk reached a high degree of anti-Leninism especially in 1920 when Czechoslovakia witnessed the culmination of a revolutionary workers movement and when a decision was being made concerning the class character of our republic. He spared any efforts to ridicule Leninism in the eyes

of the working class and the working people. He wanted to turn them away from the class struggle, from their effort to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Czechoslovak Republic, to turn them away from the path being taken, under the leadership of the Bolsheviks, and by the Russian people.

For example, on 24 September 1920, he alleged in a speech addressed to miners at Brezova Hora: "The Russian method is not suitable for us. Russia is a big nation. However, that nation does not know how to read or write. It is less educated and at a lower cultural level than us. In the case of the Russian nation, everything which is done has a different character. This also applies to so-called communism...Your socialism and European socialism is, according to Marx, a scientific socialism. Thus your socialism differs from socialism in Russia. How can there be scientific socialism in Russia when her people do not know how to read and write?"

Opinions like that had already been refuted by V. I. Lenin, for example, in his commentary on the memoirs of N. Sukhanov entitled ON OUR REVOLUTION, in the following words: "If one needs, for the establishment of socialism, a certain cultural level, although nobody can say what constitutes this certain "cultural level," because this level differs from one West European country to another, why could we not start by using the revolutionary path to establish the prerequisites for this certain cultural level and then, already on the basis of worker-peasant power and Soviet system, start to catch up with other nations?"

The working class and the working people in the Soviet Union have succeeded by their achievements in all spheres of social life to verify Lenin's truth and challenge the slander of revisionists and people like T. G. Masaryk. Nevertheless various opportunities, revisionists and antisocialist forces were not ashamed to use the aforementioned arguments in the 1968-1969 period.

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PUBLIC CRITICISM OF CEMA OBLIGATIONS REFUTED

Pizen PRAVDA in Czech 1 Mar 80 p 1

[Article by Engr Frantisek Hykes: "Our Place"]

[Text] "If you want to find out what people talk about, what their views and thoughts are, take a seat in the workers' commuter train and listen," I--still a beginner--was told by an experienced newspaperman. And he was right. To put it briefly, I learned a lot that was interesting and saw how much our citizens are interested in what is happening both at home and abroad. With the knowledge of things, on the basis of information disseminated by the communication media as well as of their own judgment based on rich life experience, people discussed economic questions and the development in the world. I must say, that they did it objectively in most instances. Of the opinions with which one could not agree I would like to deal at least with the following one. One of the passengers started a discussion--to put it briefly--on how well off we would be, if we could renounce our international obligations and agreements within CEMA. His arguments were, to put it mildly, dubious. The fundamental question, however, can be formulated as follows: how can anybody think along these lines and publicly present such political naivete? Is it possible at all to be outside one or the other political-economic community in the class divided world of today? Not even the big countries can afford it--let alone we, a state with 15 million inhabitants. After more than 30 years' existence of the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance, every rationally thinking person must fully realize its importance, usefulness and contribution to the economy of socialist countries as a whole as well as to the national economies of individual states.

Yes, it is true that we as an industrially developed country during a certain period were helping states which began to build their industry only after 1945. This was our duty ensuing from the observance of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, but it was also a necessity. If the socialist community eventually acquired its present position in the world, is respected by the Western statesmen, politicians and businessmen, it is primarily because of its economic strength. We can only be pleased that we also considerably contributed to it not only as producers, but also as builders of key industrial plants in Poland, Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary as well as in Cuba.

Any other evaluation of our foreign policy and economic cooperation is nothing else but the manifestation of egoism and petty-bourgeois attitude in a sense—the main thing is that I am well off so why should I worry about others. Except that such thinking is rather short-sighted. It was already explained why. In the class divided world it is impossible not to think in the international contexts and to try to stand aloof. No such place namely exists on our planet. And if some country tries to find it, it is doing nothing else but pursuing an ostrich-like policy.

The communique issued upon the conclusion of the visit of our party and government delegation to Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia clearly defines our political and economic relationship to these three countries of Indochina. We have, of course, offered international assistance, also to other countries of the so-called Third World which included in their program building a just classless society. We must emphasize again that it is not only our moral duty, but also the necessity to do so. After all, most of these states possess an immense wealth of raw materials and are important markets for our goods. Since none of these countries will play the role of simple onlookers any more in the future, their importance and prestige will rapidly increase. It is therefore in the interest of world socialism, peace and progress that progressive forces win and remain in power, and the working people becomes the ruling class there.

10501
CSO: 2400

OFFICIAL CITES SHORTCOMINGS OF LOW-LEVEL AGITATION WORK

Budapest PARTELET in Hungarian No 4, 1980 pp 43-45

[Article by Karoly Grosz, first secretary of the Borsod-Abauj-Zemplen Megye party committee: "A Better Harmonization of Economic Decisions and Agitation"]

[Text] The economic information and culture of our party membership and our populace have developed markedly during the past 5 years. As a result of this the judgment of the economic situation of the country is gradually approaching the realities. More and more people understand, in our megye also, that if we want to live in the future as we have been living, if we want to decrease the still existing social tensions then we must work more, better and more efficiently. All this means that the political atmosphere is good, the mood is good for the realization of the goals set forth in the draft resolution. The demands and the will of public opinion coincide with our political aspirations. This is being expressed in deeds also.

The economic units of our megye last year fulfilled their plans almost perfectly. They achieved a greater profit than in the preceding year by 15 percent, amidst more difficult circumstances. They have increased their export performance by 10 percent each year--for 5 years. Capitalist export increased by 50 percent in a single year, 1979. During the past 5 years, investments worth 71 billion forints were realized in our megye, mostly on time and at a good level. Last year our miners worked on 30-35 of their free days in order to satisfy the extra demand. On the basis of their thrift work programs our enterprises saved material and energy worth 600 million forints last year. As part of the congress work pledges they did 1,750,000 hours of social work.

I have listed all these things in order to prove that economic public thinking is developing in accordance with our political goals, even if there are contradictions. The enlightenment work concerning economic questions has had a very great role in this. But in my opinion what has been most important, what elicited this politically favorable process, is the openness of the economic policy of the party.

The party members of our megye highly value that practice of the Central Committee to speak frankly about our economic situation, to share the problems and make their ideas public. It is indispensable to preserve and defend this and to continue it in the interest of a broad national unity. This is the most effective agitation and also one of the most important paths for the further development of socialist democracy.

Despite the achievements our educational work has not been able to cope entirely with a few important tasks. Just as the development of public thinking has had a determining role in the achievements so our economic worries and problems cannot be separated from conceptual conservatism and the deficiencies of economic thinking. There still rules, for example, a method of approach according to which economic achievements are the result of good economic decisions while failures are ascribed to educational work.

What sort of attitudinal problems do we find? It happens, for example, that swift economic change, flexible accommodation and the demands made of the individual as a result of this are regarded as abnormalities and not as natural behavior; or the improvement of work discipline is regarded as a just demand only in productive work, and especially for those doing physical work there. There are still illusions in economic questions and one sometimes finds demagogy also. In many places they find the justified income differences difficult to bear. Frequently there is not sufficient respect for fundamental moral norms. If infrequently, still one can find people making unjustified demands of economic leaders, making condemnatory, impersonal generalizations. They regard a leader as democratic if he does not care who is working but regularly goes down to the plant to shake hands. Although it is generally recognized in words, for example, that we are not capable of ensuring the pace of development we grew accustomed to in earlier years still local demands are formulated on an unchanged scale and frequently with unchanged passion. It follows from this that reckoning with the possibilities is regarded primarily as a task for the leadership.

Political work is made difficult by the fact that baseless, erroneous views are mixed with real, just and true observations. We cannot regard it as a fault that people are much more vigorous than earlier in their criticism of the deficiencies of management, the waste that can be experienced locally or nationally, indecisive leaders and the postponement of questions ripe for decision. These criticisms are not directed against our system; on the contrary they derive from a concern for the power, for the results achieved. I would like to note here--as a supplement to my report--that only a really tiny minority reject our policy. We should not underestimate their existence but it would be just as much an error to exaggerate their influence. It is my experience that there is an inclination to do the latter but we have not observed a political opposition in our megye in any stratum.

To separate what is just from what is unjust--this today is one of the most difficult and one of the most important tasks in organizing political enlightenment work. Unfortunately they are not capable of doing this yet

in many of our primary organizations. They are not capable of guiding in a planned way the views and opinions which are being transformed. So the question is just: Is the transformation of public thinking swift enough? Does it sufficiently aid our economic aspirations? Unfortunately, no. The basic reason for this is that the enlightenment work being done among the masses to mobilize them for economic tasks is not built into the activity of the party organizations, especially the primary organizations, as a whole. It has stuck at generalities.

If we are to more effectively aid with the tools of party work, of enlightenment work, the unfolding of the desired economic processes then, in my opinion, we must better harmonize economic measures and enlightenment work and the other possibilities of political tools. The relationship to work of the majority of the workers is determined not by agitation but rather by the content of their productive work, place of work relationships, the quality of place of work democracy and the method of payment, in a word by everyday practical experiences. There is no way yet to give everybody the work which pleases him. But there are great possibilities for improving the atmosphere of the place of work, changing wage payment practices and developing place of work democracy. The word of enlightenment must be linked to this. Today these concordant factors are not sufficiently harmonized and the reason for this is to be sought in our style of work and in our views. We find, unfortunately, that some party members, while they agree with the decisions and consider them binding on themselves, do not stand up sufficiently to defend them. One of our delegate colleagues, the lathe operator from the Diosgyor Machine Factory, recently made a statement on television in which he said that some of his colleagues on the night shift were sleeping. After his statement there were a good number who would not greet him, they disassociated themselves from his statement although they knew that he was right. Unfortunately, there were few who stood up in his defense. So we must make it a general norm that today accepting and adhering to a policy is not enough; one must also take part in spreading and representing it.

The draft resolution turns special attention to the material situation of pensioners. This is an important and urgent task. In another place it also talks about the situation of the pensioners, from the side of movement work, and says: "Educational work within the party is an important task, strengthening the uniting of different generations." The draft resolution then immediately speaks about the education of the young generation of the party. A thought arises in this connection. In the first place it is also necessary to conduct continual political work among the members of the older generation. In the second place the experienced members of the party should be better brought into the teaching of the history of the party.

Nearly 15 percent of the party members of Borsod Megye--8,650 people--are pensioners. Of these 75 percent belong to residential area primary organizations. These bring together people with different interests and education and, a big problem, people living amidst different material conditions. These differences are constant sources of the debates taking place there.

In my opinion we have not turned sufficient attention to these party organizations in everyday work; they have not developed the most effective style of work. This contributes largely to the fact that opinions expressing dissatisfaction are relatively numerous here. This is reflected by the debate of the congress guiding principles and by the fact that in our megye 46 percent of the party members who left or were expelled from the party between 1975 and January 1980 were pensioners. The political and moral consequences of this are well known to those present. We have an essential obligation to deal more in a patient way with the political and human problems of the pensioner party members.

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RESOLUTION OF PLANT DEMOCRACY CONFLICTS STUDIED

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[Article by Lajos Hethy: "Plant Democracy Interest Harmonization--Plant Party and Trade Union Organization"]

[Text] Socialist social relations and the internal relations of socialist enterprises favor the development of plant democracy or--and this is essential to participation--the successful solution of interest harmonization.[1] It may be ascribed to these relations (in final analysis to socialist property relations, the exercise of power by the working class and its party, and the elimination of antagonistic interest conflicts) that in the course of the past two decades--aside from some lesser obstacles--the harmonization of interests in society and the enterprises was generally speaking solved. Cooperation and a certain degree of action unity was assured among individuals, groups, classes and organizations, and advances were made in the democratization of life in enterprises, institutions and the entire society. But we must also see that in certain areas progress in the plants and enterprises is frequently not adequate, and in fact the harmonization of interests is realized "behind the back" of our institutions and organizations and outside the institutional framework of participation, or fails at times, thereby endangering the combined action and unity necessary for our development. The difficulties and problems are in part attitudinal in the sense that our economic, political and social leaders are not yet adequately conscious of the existence and revealing of interest differences and the need of solving them, although they are related to our organization and social relations since these frequently do not favor allowing these interests to appear in reality, to come into conflict, nor do they adequately guarantee that interest conflicts should be favorably solved from the viewpoint of the parties and common interests. In the following we shall try to find an answer to the question of the extent to which the socialist enterprise, including also the political and social organizations, are capable of providing a solution to interest harmonization, or the extent to which it gives scope to its realization through participation in leadership and guidance in a characteristic way, that is, its realization in plant democracy.

The Enterprise and the Politico-Social Aspects of Its Operation

We may conceive of the enterprise as a tightly interrelated, complex social phenomenon with technical-economic and socio-political aspects. The enterprise organization is not only the simple sum of its various elements and the different processes and activities that take place within it but a phenomenon that differs qualitatively from its combined factors: it is a unit of society and the economy and is motivated not only by the general laws of society, politics and economy but also by its own specific laws. To put it in other words, within the framework of its general social definition the enterprise has significant autonomy and independent movement. The essential phase of this movement--as in general the movement of society--is the shaping and development of interest relations. Therefore, the interests, the organizational attitudes and the autonomous movement of the organization are such phenomena as can hardly be analyzed independently of one another.

The primary function of an enterprise is production or management. The procedures, technologies, interrelations and requirements of production can exert an influence in one form or other on the entire build-up or operation of the enterprise. The logic of management also exerts an effect on the operation of the organization. The production functions of the enterprise must be seen to by economic and efficient use of available material and human resources. The socio-political requirement which expressly affects the operation of the organization--for it can hardly be narrowed down to management--is cooperation among people and groups of people, coordinated activity serving organizational goals, which can be provided through harmonization of interests. Cooperation and coordinated activity--which are essential phases in the operation of every organization--are indispensable conditions for the realization of the process of production or management. On the other hand, the requirements of production and management are based on the operation, structure of the organization, or on those conditions by which cooperation must develop. The logic of technique, management and cooperation is expressed in the totality itself of the enterprise build-up and operation. The socialist enterprise is a complex organization which is composed of at least three closely interrelated organizations; the economic organization which forms the backbone, the party organization, and the trade union. This complex structure forms the specifics of the socialist enterprise.

The production, management and cooperation processes of the enterprise are bound to its whole, although the various organizations, depending on their nature, are not linked in the same way to the processes within the enterprise. The economic organization is the carrier of the production and management processes in which the technical, economic elements are basic, and the party organization and the trade union are tied to the politico-social processes; with their characteristic means they attend to tasks which affect cooperation. But within the enterprise there is no such work distribution among individual organizations which

would be the exclusive depository of one function or the other, or which would release any one of them from the logic and requirements of the or another process. The efficiency of production and management as the basic goals of the enterprise is undertaken not only by the economic organization but by the party and trade union organization too, and thus the economic organization cannot disregard the problems of cooperation within the organization either.

In the hierarchical build-up of the enterprise organization, the principle of work distribution or of guidance unity is expressed jointly. Work distribution--including specialization--is from the beginning one of the pillars of production and management efficiency in industrial organizations. This principle is expressed in the differential relations following the technology in that the work of a given producer unit regularly embraces a clearly definable phase of production technology. Work distribution is realized not only in the producer units but also in the organization of the leadership. As a result of the differentiation, the danger exists (and sometimes actually occurs) that the activities of individuals and groups separated by work distribution are divorced from one another and the coordination of their actions ended. The unity of guidance is called on to counter these anarchical trends in the organizations--this principle expresses the requirement of uniting and coordinating the divided and partial activities.

The politico-social organizations operating within an enterprise are themselves hierarchical in their structure--this derives not simply from their being tied to the economic organization but from the fact that in their own activities they realize--although differently from the economic organization--the requirements of work distribution and guidance unity. The leadership hierarchy of the politico-social organizations on the other hand are considerably more simple than those of the economic organizations--the managing of politico-social problems and their coordination require less of a systematically divided hierarchy. Therefore, while the economic organization of our enterprises generally form a multi-staged pyramid, it also included a long guidance chain, with the party and the trade union having for the most part leadership at the level of the shop, plant, department or enterprise.

The third principle on which the enterprise structure is built is competence. For an enterprise to fulfill its production, management functions, the individuals and groups performing determined tasks in the work and function distribution system must have expertise--managers and subordinates must have the knowledge--systematically expressible in their schooling, trade training and experience and measurable in their performance--which is necessary for carrying out their work. The politico-social functions of the economic organizations are expressed in that (as it is also stated in the cadre political requirements) the economic managers in addition to their expertise and leadership capabilities must also be politically suitable for their assignments.

The politico-social organizations, to be sure, require competence (political schooling, training) from their leadership functionaries who (as enterprise workers) also have certain kinds of expertise required for the most part of the economic organization.

Thus the organization of the enterprise is formed by the combined structures of the economic and politico-social organizations. The official structure of the latter--as we have seen--is built on the basis of those same principles as the economic organizations--it follows this also in specific arrangements, and in a similar way it includes the regulation of functions, tasks, responsibilities, decision rights, and relations. Of course despite the identity of the principles realized in this structure--and in force in most of the organizations--there are also essential differences.

From the viewpoint of our subject it is a difference particularly worthy of note that in the politico-social organization--as compared to the economic--the elements of democratism are already present by virtue of their character, goals, and functions. While the unity of guidance and control is realized in the economic organization in a unidirectional relation--from top to bottom--and only the development of plant democracy can change it bidirectionally, the basic principle of the party's official structure, democratic centralism, on the other hand, is from the beginning bidirectional, and in addition to guidance unity also includes the element of share with identical importance. A further difference is that the economic organization and the politico-social organizations with differing means affect the activity of the organization's members by appeal to differing reasons for action. Today the economic organization seeks to persuade workers to cooperation and goal service by appealing to the interests--chiefly material--and needs of people; the politico-social organizations (among them mainly the party) affects its members by appealing to their common values, to the commonly accepted norms, and to the commonly undertaken principles. Material incentive, which makes the satisfaction of people's dependent on their actions and work performance--is successful when there is a close, clear and proportional relation between the positive or negative nature of the action and the satisfaction of the demand, that is, the socialist principle of distribution according to work is realized. The setting of requirements for the work performed in service of enterprise goals or the extent and ratio of the material countervalue represent the basic questions of interest harmonization for working individuals, groups and classes. Moral incentive is not in such a close relation with interests and needs. But it is obvious that as the various types (material and nonmaterial) of needs, the interests building thereon, and the norms and values which are by no means independent therefrom exist and act in close combination in the system of people's motivations, even so an enterprise can stimulate its workers successfully and guide its actions if the various types of incentives, adjusting to the given organization's needs, are realized by strengthening one another in one direction.

It derives from all this that the politico-social organization has a characteristic and important role in the working out of unified action and the development of plant democracy serving that end. The process of democratization at the same time does not contradict the basic principles which regulate the building up of enterprise organization--it is not opposed to the realization of work distribution, it does not break down the unity of guidance and control, and does not undermine the realization of competence requirements. (This latter question was raised acutely for several years following the economic reform but since then it has been clarified in a unified direction--today there is hardly an outlook in social science according to which the democratization of decision-making would be opposed to the realization of competence.) Undoubtedly, however, it brings changes in the traditional system whereby workers participate in the direction of working collectives and the distribution of functions--and it puts an end to a situation where the guiding, decision-making and controlling functions are kept for the peaks of the organizational hierarchy while the lower levels are limited exclusively to carrying out functions--and thus it brings about changes in the manner of work distribution, guidance and control, and in the manner of realizing competence requirements.

The Realization of Party Organization and Cooperation in the Enterprise

As we have already stated, the technical-economic and socio-political processes within a socialist enterprise are all linked to the activities of the economic organization and carry the combined effects of their operation. This derives partly from the intertwining of the technical-economic and socio-political processes and partly from the structural and personal linking of the economic and politico-social organizations. All this, of course, does not mean there does not exist in the framework of their cooperation such a distribution of tasks as corresponds to the characteristics of the individual organizations, their possibilities or limits. From the aspects of our subject, the question is how this cooperation and work distribution is realized in the development of plant democracy, and what kind of requirements this poses on the party and the trade union beyond the economic organization.[2]

The plant and enterprise presence of party organizations in the present phase of socialist development expresses the priority of the political as compared to the economic.

The basic function of enterprise and factory party organizations is to assure that the operation of the socialist enterprise and the actions of the individuals and collectives working there correspond to the interests of the working class and society, and to the goals of socialist construction. Consequently, the central question of their activity in the plant is the coordination of differing interests in the enterprise, their harmonization and their integration with the interests of society as a whole. To do this, it is necessary that they have an adequate overview

of the affairs of the collective, to have an awareness of the problems of the people and groups who work together and at time conflict with one another, that they try to contribute to overcoming the tensions without being stuck at the level of everyday problems, providing rather incentive in the service of goals that point beyond such problems. The direct problems in their area of activity should be adjusted into the main processes of the development of society.

All this demands of the enterprise, plant and party organizations, and naturally from the whole party, activities somewhat different from before. The activity of the party is guided by the theory of Marxism-Leninism; but this does not mean, or can it mean, that the theory makes itself felt in abstract form. Formerly when a simplified concept of social relations prevailed according to which the overall social interests automatically expressed the interests of every individual, group and class, and the main task was mobilization and a conviction in service of realizing the main task and centrally set goals. Meanwhile, the recognition surfaced, however, that the overall social interest is not immediately conspicuous or obvious to everyone (and even less accepted by everyone), and that the working out and conceptualization of the common action is a difficult and complex operation which requires a basic and manifold analysis of reality and cannot be replaced by the deductions deriving from the general precepts of theory and by a central statement of will.[3] The party must constantly see to it that the tasks it has designated actually express the interests of society, and to do this abstract theoretical control is not enough, rather a constant facing up to social practice is indispensable. The party expresses the social interests well and fulfills its tasks well in the integration of interests if it can assure that the courses of action it has designated actually serve the development of society as a whole and also the personal interests of the great majority. The control thereof, however, is not whether public opinion approves of the party's policy (although this is important) but the actual actions of people in the factories, the enterprises, and society. Without forcing ideological work and conviction into the background of party activity, concrete social problems and actions, and the analysis of interests receive a greater role than before. This is also indispensable because the concrete interest relations of society, the factories and enterprises (including interest conflicts) and the interests of given individuals, groups and classes are not evident and transparent.

The party--because of its nature--approaches the problems of building socialism in enterprise and plant life from the political aspect, for it realizes the working out of the common interest, its acceptance, the integration and mobilization of society on the service of these interests. Since social phenomena (thus, for example, plant problems) are not merely and sometimes not primarily political in character, it can solve these tasks only by relying on other organizations.

Enterprise and plant party organizations exert their influence on the shaping of interests and interest relations with the guidance and supervision of the economic leadership and the politico-social organizations, above all of trade union activity. The origin of interests, interest differences and interest conflicts is to be found in economic relations which are always managed by the economic leadership; today interest harmonization represents primarily the alterations and corrections in these interests, and the actions and attitudes accompanying the interest conflicts and signifying their outcome appear in the field of production and management, and only very rarely assume direct political form. The economic leadership is the main partner of the party organizations in promoting interest harmonization or integration. But also indispensable to the fulfilling of the functions are the trade unions and the work of the interest representational organs since their specific task is the revealing and protection of part interests of the individual, the group or the class. From the aspect of a successful integration of interests, therefore, it is of basic importance that the plant, enterprise and party organizations be able to rely on the economic leadership and the Communists who work there. Thus it is important that the party should receive support from plant democracy and its operation.

Party organizations can attend to their tasks only if they do not fritter away their attention and their energies on detailed problems but observe the main trends of the socio-political processes taking place in the plant and enterprise, seek to influence these, or keep their eye on a few basic problems (for example, cadre selection). Essentially on these considerations rests the position which the party organizations take in the official decision-making system and the organizational structure of the enterprise.

As a result of its leading role in a socialist society, it is due in greatest degree to the efforts of the party if in our society, institutions, and organizations--thus enterprises and plants--cooperation is in general assured among individuals, groups and classes, a generally sufficient unity of action is realized, and unity in interest of the common goals. But of course, it is not only the results achieved in the unity of worker collectives and the integration of society that are linked to party activity but also the problems--thus the fact that interest harmonization in our enterprises is still not solved in many respects; the institutions of interest representation and protection frequently do not function appropriately; plant democracy is not effective enough, and in this connection the types of action which are harmful in respect to society as a whole are frequent. All these are negatives of which the leading bodies of the party--the 11th Congress and Central Committee meetings held in recent years-- made self-critical account and arrived at the deduction that the work of the party organizations must be further improved, its relation to practice and at the same time its theoretical foundations.

The Trade Union and Interest Representation Within the Enterprise

In our socialist enterprises it is the trade union that realizes in the worker collectives its indirect (representational) participation in guidance, and also attends to their interest representation and interest protection.[4]

With party guidance and control of trade unions, an important factor in its expressed activity is the development of plant democracy.

Many circumstances make the trade union suitable for its interest protection role. The most important are: 1. it has a century of experience in the field of protecting and representing the workers' interests; 2. it has great historic practice in hammering out the accord and unity of the workers; 3. the traditions of its internal democratism are also noteworthy; 4. it includes at present in its ranks the overwhelming majority of the workers in the enterprises; 5. its credentials enable it to participate in and influence decision-making.

In the meaning of statutory provisions, the economic leadership of enterprises or other state organs cannot make decisions in questions affecting the workers' interests without the participation of trade unions. At the enterprise and plant level, the trade unions have agreement and joint decisions rights in the regulations of questions affecting the living and working conditions of the workers. They have independent decision rights regarding use of the portion of the sharing fund that can be devoted to social and cultural goals. They have the right of giving opinions on matters regarding work relations--including the appointment and dismissal of managers. They have control rights in regard to whether the economic leadership is maintaining the agreements relating to the development of the workers' living and working conditions. They also have the right to object to violations of laws, rules, agreements (for example, the collective's contract) regarding work relations and working conditions, and to veto such enterprise decisions. The enterprise-level rights of work organizations are supplemented by such national spheres of authority as administration of social insurance, work protection control and supervision, etc. In the course of the past two decades, representatives of the trade unions have participated in the solution of plant problems and in general have tried to realize the indirect (representational) participation of the workers and the workers' collective in enterprise guidance.

In addition to results, we must also speak of the fact that the trade unions, or certain enterprise and plant organizations, still have not at all been able effectively to fulfill the role that is incumbent on them in interest harmonization--including above all the revealing of interests and their representation.[5]

In our economic organizations the trade union generally takes the position that it serves enterprise interests and cooperation in the enterprise. To the extent that this position is based on the realistic recognition that within the enterprise interests differ, interest conflicts are natural, and in fact their surfacing is expressly desirable from the viewpoint of seeking a compromise, the trade union can play and does play a very useful role of enlightenment, mediation and balancing. But unfortunately "the service of enterprise interests" frequently means for the trade union a kind of escape from actual, specific problems.

Although since 1968 the trade unions have used their veto right more than once and conducted at times keen debates with the enterprise managers, it is frequently evident how disturbing a task it is for a given trade union committee to take a position in a conflict between workers and managers.

But the problem is not only that the trade union in many places does not represent with adequate vigor the interests of the workers vis-a-vis the economic managers. Difficulties are very often caused (and this is hardly ever mentioned) by the fact that the interests of certain working classes and groups are not protected adequately vis-a-vis others. The volume of wages that can be distributed is fixed, and thus material advantages and privileges constrained by certain working classes and groups (by various means including withdrawal) are gained at the cost of other working classes and groups. This of course is true not only of the workers but of all enterprise workers. The extorted material advantages may represent a healthy correction of a discredited condition, but frequently they are unjustified and harmful as measured by work performed. Leaving realities out of account, the trade union often denies and disguises the conflicts, or instead of defending the rightful interests of workers or another working class in an actually harmful situation, it will pose as the defender of the "working class in general" while important processes of our economy like, for example, mass manpower migration following reform largely occurs independently of itself.[6] Thus it is not accidental--as we shall show in greater detail in the following--that in some places the enterprise administration or the party organizations take over in significant part the interest protection function of the trade union. But it is not rare for these tasks to remain untaken.

On the basis of everyday experiences and available--sporadic--research results it appears that the picture the workers have formed of the trade union and its activities is mixed and contradictory. In those plants and enterprises where the trade union is operating poorly or where the keen conflicts of interest shed light on the limits and deficiencies of its operation, the workers are very unsatisfied with its activity. Such a situation was shown, for example, by our study in 1969 of the frame unit of the Hungarian Railroad Car and Machine Factory, where the trade union was unable to support the workers in the realization of their interests or to contribute to the solution of the conflict of

interests.[7] On the other hand, the research we performed in 1974 on the axle, motor and tool units of the Hungarian Railroad Car and Machine Factory show that the workers and economic managers see much that is left to be desired in operations of the trade union, have a critical attitude toward it, but in general do not harbor an ill opinion.[8] In these factories the trade unions were operating relatively well or the cooperation of individual groups and classes and the harmonization of their interests was assured by the economic leadership, for these were the most modern and materially the best subsidized factory units of the enterprise, in fact of the city, and were the center of attention.

It is difficult to reduce to a common denominator the contradictory judgments regarding the trade unions, and it is even more difficult to make deductions on this basis of their interest representational activities; rather they only indicate the problems that arise in describing the results achieved in the area. But these manifestations have a common element in their negative and positive jundments alike: a judgment on the importance of the trade union. It reflects the real situation and is not at all a discredit to the trade union that the workers regularly put the trade union behind the economic leadership and the party organization in regard to importance in plant and enterprise operation. This phenomenon derives from the organizational structure of the socialist enterprise, does not detract at all from the value of the trade union work, and it is proper when the workers see this clearly. But it points to the weakness of the interest protection work of the trade union if the workers expect help from the economic leadership or the party in matters directly affecting their living and working conditions which are expressly in the trade union sphere of authority, and thus they see the functions of the trade union, primarily the stewards, who are closest to them, in the "sale of stamps" and in the handling of recreational and aid affairs.

The Theoretical Research Institute of the Trade Unions studied (several years before our above-mentioned research work in 1974) in the motor factory units of the Hungarian Railroad Car and Machine Factory whom the workers count on and from whom they expect help in meeting their various problems. The great majority of the respondents indicated their work superior: 75 percent in wage and norm problems, 87 percent in job-related problems, 76 percent in skill refresher training matters, 80 percent in the improvement of working conditions, and 80 percent in matters of a personal nature. On the contrary, only a very small portion (8 percent) said the trade union was the forum to which they could turn with their problems: all in all 1 percent (1) in wage and norm problems and only 15 percent in problems involving the improvement of working conditions.[9] These data also indicated (to the extent they are comparable) that the relatively positive opinions given by these workers regarding the trade union in our 1974 study actually reflected not the effective operation of the trade union but rather the satisfactory conditions of the workers' situation and the low level of their expectations vis-a-vis the trade union.

It does no harm, in fact it is an expressly positive phenomenon, when the workers and the worker collectives count and can count, in plant and enterprise problems directly affecting themselves, on their direct superiors and generally on the help of the economic leadership. It is also proper if a considerable number of the problems are settled among workers, subordinates and direct superiors, free from all formalities, beside the machines and by way of office, corridor, etc. conversations actually with the "participation" of the subordinate. Unfortunately, our outlook as it is accustomed to externals, does not regard these relations as belonging to the sphere of plant democracy. This procedure, however, does not replace the institutional interest representation that should be realized by the trade union. On one hand, only a relatively small scope of problems can be solved in this way. On the other hand, in this manner of interest harmonization the subjective element has too great of an importance; consequently in most situations where there is actually a conflict with the interests of the managers, the workers are on their own, that is, they acquiesce in having their own interests forced into the background, or (if their position makes this possible) for the realization of their interests they turn to means which cost disproportionally a great deal to themselves, to the enterprise, and to society.

It cannot be a reassuring solution either if the workers (and this too occurs frequently) expect support from the party organizations in matters directly affecting their living and working conditions. For the party (even when it volunteers) this is an additional task which falls outside of its sphere of functions and for the carrying out of which it actually lacks the means and entitlements.

Structural and Attitudinal Factors in the Weaknesses of Trade Union Interest Protection

The complex organization of the socialist enterprise (including the cooperation and task distribution of the economic leadership, the party organization and the trade union) creates in principle the ideal conditions for the harmonization and integration of interests. During the production and management processes guided by the economic leadership, interests and interest differences are formed which can undo cooperation. The presence of the trade union should be the guarantee that these interests will surface, be formulated, and enjoy appropriate protection. The party organization on the other hand takes care to see that their integration takes place on the basis of social interests, and thus cooperation will be maintained, that is, from the social side a successful process of production and management will be assured. The actual development of events, however, is frequently different; in the operation of a socialist enterprise, chiefly as a consequence of the problematical features of trade union work, the revealing and formulation of the interests, the elements involved in their conflict are not sufficiently realized, and it is rather the elements of integration which become preponderant.

Thus open conflicts between the economic leadership and the trade union, perhaps even the party organization, can be avoided, but the conflicts are forced from official institutions of the organizations consistently into areas that cannot be controlled, and--sometimes even imperceptible--rifts and fractures can arise in cooperation. Unfortunately, our outlook still has not overcome the illusion which from the viewpoint of the enterprise organization recognizes negative action only in such obvious and demonstrative manifestations as open violations of work discipline, open refusal to carry out managerial orders, etc. Much more dangerous, not only because of their concealed but also their broadly extended nature, are such manifestations as workers whose interests have been violated in matters like slack performance at a level deliberately below capability, careless handling of tools and machinery, waste of material and energy, work at one's own account, storing up of energies for "maszek" (private sector) work, and so forth.

Problems that appear in the interest representational activities of the trade union obviously do not bring into question the good intention and efforts of activists working in the organization (for the most part in the framework of a social assignment) but indicate that the trade union itself or the socialist enterprise have weaknesses in operation, structure and internal relations which hinder an effective protection of interests.

For a trade union to fulfill its functions in the plants, the enterprises, the ranks of its own members and above all the ranks of the managerial apparatus, it must solve interest harmonization, the providing of incentives toward goals as does the economic or party organization. Regarding the latter, however, it is an indub'table disadvantage of the trade union that it is unable to exert a motivational force like those, for the most part, of meterial advantages, over which the economic organization has authority, or those value and norms goals. But as consequence of the strong personal intertwining of the three organizations, the trade union--which has a limited number of independent leaders and no independent apparatus--must reckon with the economic organization and the party organization as "rivals" in the bonds and motivations of its own cadre. Since frequently this is not successful, the trade union activists and functionaries, who are workers of the enterprise and also frequently managers as well, participate in the running of plant affairs not with "trade union consciousness" but with the consciousness of those fulfilling a status defined in the economic organization. Therefore they cannot simply undertake the representation of certain interests because these are in opposition to their own interests, or with the interests of the plant, of enterprise individuals or groups on whom they themselves are dependent, and it is not in their interest to engage in conflict with them. Closely related thereto is the fact that--since they see the problem from their "status"--they cannot ordinarily orient objectively the independent leadership of the trade union which in this way frequently does not know (and cannot know) what actually is happening in the plant.

All this leads to a situation where certain interests, from the very start, will remain undiscovered, or even if these interests are obvious they will seek to defer and conceal the conflicts. (If a trade union activist thinks with a "party member's consciousness" such problems--under normal conditions--obviously will not arise.)

Since trade union offices are relatively less attractive, it derives from this fact also that the trade union is ordinarily struggling with cadre problems, frequently it does not succeed in acquiring activists with appropriate training, and for the most part does not attract the adequately trained workers so that many of those who are taken into trade union bodies operating in work places and plants--a matter which is very important in interest harmonization between workers and managers--are foremen, plant managers, technicians, and administrative workers. This also adds to the fact that plant conflicts frequently become chronic precisely in this sphere.

The trade union organs, activists, officials do not receive adequate support for their interest protection functions even from the party organizations.[10] At times, the party organizations themselves are not free of the erroneous view which--in contradiction to party policy and intention--sees the representation of part interests as opposed to social interests. Such an attitude in public opinion, particularly general party opinion, restrains also many of those from a resolute stand who would otherwise be so disposed.

At present, one of the most general problems of interest harmonization is the fact that many of those organizations--including trade unions, but others as well-which are called on to reveal, formulate and represent part interests come forward as representatives of society as a whole. "The various social organizations, institutions, which have an appropriate function in expressing the part interests still refer with bias to the interest of society as a whole in their activities although given their characteristic interest representation nature they could rightfully cite, in accordance with party intentions, the rights of the various classes, enterprises, bodies and trades. But because of fixed habits and often obsolete organizational frameworks a practice which has been surpassed by reality still survives. The moral demand of calling on the working class and the people as whole is understandable and acceptable in general program statements. But in the case of practical work and concrete decisions it is already distrubing because it makes it more difficult for the party to find its way among the complicated interest relations, and thereby hinders the party in fulfilling its function of interest integration. It is a requirement of our days that the various social organizations should more consistently become representatives of part interests that a balanced interest representation system should be created which will reflect reality more faithfully and the party can more certainly calculate which interests should be given preference and which restrained in order that the interest of the working class and society as a whole can be better realized."[11]

The problems related to trade union interest representation and interest protection in our society are generally well known, and certain steps have already been taken to remedy them. Exerting an influence in this direction is the emphasis on the requirement for trade interest protection in trade union work,[12] an effort to draw into the leading organs of the trade union the representatives of the different (often varying in their interests) classes--women and youth--and mainly to increase the ratio of physical workers in the bodies.

The dependence of the officials on the enterprise is somewhat countered by the fact, at least the 1977 order reduces it, which entitles the body of stewards and chief stewards and the enterprise trade union council or committee to give an opinion annually on the activity of the economic leadership, and also by the regulation according to which, for decisions related to the work relations of trade union functionaries working in the plants, it is necessary to have the approval of higher trade union organs. Presumably the inner democratism, plant importance and esteem of the trade unions is increased by the most recent extention of the authority exercised by the trade union stewards, and the establishment of combined conferences by the VSZT's [Factory Trade Union Committees] and the steward organs as the most important institution of plant democracy and trade union organs.

The complex organization of a socialist enterprise--a complex structure including the economic, party organization and trade union team--generally is suitable to see that the coordination of the interests of individuals, groups and classes should take place, and cooperation be created. The cooperation of people and unity of action is in good part assured in our enterprises. Within the enterprise organization this is particularly guaranteed by the activity of the economic leadership or the party organizations: for the realization of technical-economic processes the economic leadership bears responsibility, for the politico-social process the party leadership, or for the fact that there should be balance and unity between the technical-economic and the socio-political aspects. A characteristic problem of interest harmonization is that the interest integration efforts are preponderant in this process since it is realized decisively through the activity of the economic leadership and the party organization, and the surfacing of interests, their formulation, while the elements of their conflicts are forced into the background. The main reason for this phenomenon is to be sought for in the fact that the operation of plant democracy is not satisfactory: neither the indirect--representational--forms nor the direct forms operate effectively for the participation of the workers in guidance activity. In this present study I was not able to extend myself to a study of how the operation of direct-participation institutions is realized in our enterprises, thus how the production conferences designed for a central importance in this field are functioning.[13] The weaknesses evident in the activities of the trade union and its forums of direct democracy, the lack of substance, the formalism can be explained in part by the attitudinal errors which are

evident in the judgment of interest harmonization and interest protection problems and in the leadership of economic and socio-political organizations alike.

As a consequence, interest harmonization is still realized largely through the one-sided, "high-principled" guidance work and decisions of the economic leadership. Its success is witnessed by the satisfaction and negative types of action among the workers. Frequently it is these very same actions which replace the channels of interest harmonization that ought to be afforded by the forums of plant and work place democracy. But from many points of view this situation is disadvantageous to individuals, trade unions and society alike; interest harmonization which is being realized in this way is very "costly" to every participant--from the economic and the political points of view--and therefore a great need exists for us to correct the weaknesses of our organizations and institutions for assuring the development of plant democracy, and achieve a positive change in the outlook of their leadership.

FOOTNOTES

1. The main function of plant democracy--in harmony with what may be described as the prevailing concept in social science and political thinking--I also see as the harmonization of interests. This concept is based on economic research (cf. Kalman Szabo: "Plant Democracy and Political Economics," KOZGAZDASAGI SZEMLE, Nos 7-8, 1974) and is followed by such researchers on plant democracy with otherwise very widely divergent views as Jeno Andics and Tamas Rozgonyi (CONFLICT AND HARMONY, Kozgazdasagi es Jogi Konyvkiado, 1977), Marton Buza (CERTAIN QUESTIONS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF PLANT DEMOCRACY, Kossuth Konyviado, 1977), and in here more recent works Mrs Aladar Mod (ECONOMIC GUIDANCE AND PLANT DEMOCRACY, Gazdasag, 1970, under publication), and this approach to plant democracy was also affirmed by the exchange of ideas conducted in TARSADALMI SZEMLE 1977/1978, the concluding study of which was written by this author ("On the Road to the Development of Plant Democracy," TARSADALMI SZEMLE, June 1978).

2. In this present study I do not wish to deal with those already widely familiar requirements which the development of plant democracy poses on the internal guidance system of an enterprise and on the "inner mechanism" of the enterprise. In this regard see Kalman Szabo's "Plant Democracy and Political Economics," KOZGAZDASAGI SZEMLE 1974 Nos 7-8; Laszlo Horvath's "Enterprise Democracy--Decentralization and Incentive," TARSADALMI SZEMLE, 1973 No 7; Istvan Heredi's "Plant Democracy and One-Person Leadership," TARSADALMI SZEMLE, 1977 No 9; Sandor Varga's "Inner Enterprise Guidance and Plant Democracy," TARSADALMI SZEMLE, 1971 No 3, and so forth. At the same time it must be seen that the realization of the further development of the

inner enterprise guidance system--which was urged by the resolutions of the 11th Congress--also define the possibilities of those efforts which the politico-social organizations building closely on one another together with the economic organization can make in promoting worthwhile participation in workers' guidance.

3. Cf. Andras Knopp's contribution: "Interest Relations of Our Society and Scientific Research," debate on the TARSADALMI SZEMLE editorial staff, TARSADALMI SZEMLE 1976 Nos 8-9.

4. The functions and operational principles of the MSZMP Political Committee were stated in the 10 May 1966 and the 17 June 1974 resolutions: "The interest protection work of the trade unions, its measures on behalf of legality strengthen the positions of the workers' power, the relationships of the party and masses, and contribute to the distortion-free carrying out of the party policy . . . The party organizations should encourage and protect the trade union officials when in the course of their mobilization work or the protection of the workers' interests they face the economic managers with well-founded requests and at the same time they should stimulate firm objections to unrightful and ill-founded demands." MSZMP Resolutions and Documents, 1971-1975, pp 813-814.

5. The Political Committee, in reviewing the period since the 1966 resolution on trade unions, stated in a 1974 resolution: "Among some trade union officials there is evidence of a lack of courage and understanding in the use of rights for interest protection . . . Development of the inner life of the trade unions and of trade union democracy has lagged behind social demands. This is particularly perceptible in the weakness of the work of the basic organizations and stewards maintaining direct relations with the membership." MSZMP Resolutions and Documents, 1971-1975, pp 811-812.

6. In its interest protection activities, the trade union still proceeds from those class-forming factors which are, to be sure, important from the viewpoint of part interests within the ranks of the workers and the working masses (thus trade, age, sex, training, etc.) but by no means exclusively. Thus some groups--relatively homogenous in their interests--remain without adequate interest protection like, for example, the millions of hired workers. Cf.: Antal Bohm and Laszlo Pal: "Several Questions Regarding the Socio-Political Attitude of Hired Workers," TARSADALMI SZEMLE, 1979 No 10.

7. Lajos Hethy and Csaba Mako: WORKERS' ATTITUDES AND THE ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION, Akademiai kiado, 1972

8. Lajos Hethy and Csaba Mako: AUTOMATION AND WORKER CONSCIOUSNESS, MTA [Hungarian Academy of Sciences] Sociological Research Institute--SZOT

[National Council of Trade Unions] Work Protection Scientific Research Institute. Budapest 1975.

9. "The Trade Unions and the Automation of Industrial Work. Hungarian Experiences." Document prepared on goals for the international comparative research program of automation and the industrial workers. Manuscript. SZEKI pp 15-19.

10. The effective operation of the trade unions is also hindred by the fact that in the party organizations " . . . not everywhere is there a unified concept for judging the organizational independence of the trade unions; it happens that they fear the exercise of trade union rights. Some party organizations give little political orientation to the communists who work in the trade unions. The combined realization of trade union rights and obligations has not become general in the party organizations, or the accountability for party and trade union decisions. There is also evidence of an improper practice which reduces organization guidance to persons." The July 1974 resolution of the Political Committee. MSZMP resolutions and Documents, 1971-1975, p 812.

11. Imre Pozsgay: "The Party and the Interest of Society as a Whole," TARSADALMI SZEMLE, 1972 No 1, p. 19. Also see Imre Pozsgay: "Several Problems in the Development of Socialist Democracy," 1968 No 10. For the interest representation function of the council organs see the comments of Mihaly Bihari and Peter Schmidt: "The Interest Relations of Our Society and Scientific Research," debate on the editorial staff of the TARSADALMI SZEMLE. TARSADALMI SZEMLE, 1976 Nos 8-9.

12. See Ferenc Havasi: "Our Political Organizations and Changing Reality," TARSADALMI SZEMLE, 1972 No 12, p 55; "Our Political Organizations in a Changing Society," concluding statements of the editorial staff on the exchange of ideas in the subject area "principle-organization-movement," TARSADALMI SZEMLE, 1973 No 7, p 70.

13. In the broad literature of this area see Valential Kobjakov: "On the Question of Plant Democracy," Scientific Socialism Brochures, No 45, Marxism-Leninism Department of the Ministry of Education, 1977.

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POLES TO CHANGE INTERNAL SYSTEM, KEEP SOVIET ALLIANCE

Paris KULTURA in Polish No 3, Mar 80 pp 102-106

[Article by Kisiel--Stefan Kisielewski, datelined Warsaw, January 1980: "Concerning Dual Thinking and Acting"]

[Text] Motto: "Woe to the nation which loves freedom more than the fatherland." (Henryk Sienkiewicz)

Those who write in KULTURA are writing primarily for the emigre reader, since KULTURA reaches Poland minimally even though it is a well-established legend there. Thus, in writing for the emigration, I would like to begin today by questioning a particular emigre view of the situation in Poland, a task which has already been executed in a large degree in two excellent articles in KULTURA: "A Letter from the Homeland" and "Dualism" (No 12/387, 1979).

The emigration is namely of the opinion that the activity of opposition factions in Poland is an expression of the growing protest and opposition of the whole society. I am of the opposite belief: that the opposition is that of a small group of young people, somethat "alienated," i.e., existing on the margin of our normal life, who attempt to spur the society to protest or resistance without success. Why? Not only because the opposition is weak and does not have mass means of communication at its disposal except for Radio Free Europe at the very most, but for many other reasons as well. For example: a) Society is passive, disarmed by the state-party monopoly of organizational tasks. The activist oppositional minority cannot convince the passive minority that the established legality must be shaken, however its activities may lead to the loss of the opportunity to achieve those gains which can be made in the lives of the people somehow by legal means. b)Following the demographic hecatomb of World War II, which struck down the intelligentsia in enormous numbers, the present day intelligentsia takes the lead with a head start, specially formed psychically, detached from early traditions, and remembering the sources of their head start well. c) Society, uninformed about the essential political-economic problems, is not aware of the essence of the structure and its immanent shortcomings, its history and is not conscious of the tasks

of the censorship. d) On the other hand, society is well aware of the fact that the Russians devised and maintain its present geopolitical situation, that to a great degree it inhabits new, usable lands which once belonged to the Germans, lands it does not want and cannot lose--thus its apprehension in the face of the risks connected with all radical upheavals. e) People are weary of and exasperated by their hard lives, it is true, but they have gotten used to managing "on the crock," by means of schemes and subterfuge which, despite everything, are fostered by Gierek's peculiarly operating foreign-currency, agency-handled NEP. f) No one believes in radical world-wide changes, everyone knows full well that the West does not intend to save us from communism, on the contrary, it supports this communism economically to prevent it from going bankrupt and collapsing. Etc., etc.

If, despite all of this, and independent of youth activities, chiefly those of "contesting" groups, opposition sentiment which is not of a rebellious nature without a doubt has grown considerably in society in the course of the past year, this has happened because of the exceptional economic-social incompetence of the ruling party, because of the extravagance, the dilettantism and the megalomania of the administration, apparent everywhere to the naked eye. Indeed, the opposition ought to thank Gierek and Jaroszewicz who gave them the sort of opportunity and momentum they had not dreamed of since June of 1976. But now those of us who write here and there about politics are faces with a serious problem: what advice should we give the opposition, what slogans should we propose?

In the unofficial publication RESPUBLICA, No 1, I wrote an article "Has Geopolitics Lost Its Significance?", in which I pointed out that Poland will yet remain for a long time in Russia's sphere of influence and we must draw our conclusions from this in our political thought, preparing, e.g., a concept of cooperation with Russia, at the same time rejecting Communism. Stanislaw Stomma, in his endorsement of this article, accused me of inconsistency and duplicity, saying that in my other writings, particularly those signed "Kisiel" (I signed the article in RESPUBLICA as Stefan Kisielewski), in pieces for KULTURA, among other things, I attack and make fun of Russia.

Without a doubt, quality in thought and action are evident here, symbolized by the intentional double signatures. Dual thinking is not the way to escape the ambiguous situation of People's Poland in the face of adversity, with Russia to thank for its geopolitics, and the constant threat of the Germans preying upon Wroclaw and Szczecin; at the same time Poland has had enough of Communism and its absurdities. I believe, however, that the preparation of a psychological-political alternative for the extreme probability that geopolitical relations in Europe will be fixed for many years has nothing in common with rejecting oneself, one's history and way of thinking, one's national personality, which is the crux of the matter. Why even the Finns, despite their foreign policy, simply do not intend to destroy the statue of Mannerheim, or to nationalize the milk trade.

What then do I propose to the opposition, given the immutability of the situation of land distribution in Europe for many years to come?

I think that the most important task is to make society aware that its greatest enemy and the greatest enemy of Poland in general is the STRUCTURE. The Russians set it in motion years ago, but today its operation is automatic, carried on by Polish hands, with the more or less passive participation of three million party members who are deluded in various ways. One may live out his life in Poland, never seeing a Russian, but constantly being under Soviet domination from year to year. After all, is the Russian not the censor, destroying culture and history, the teacher, ramming absurdities and falsehoods into our children's heads, the journalist poisoning the psyche, the engineer building an unnecessary factory, the policeman, the party functionary, the devout diplomat, the tractable scholar, etc. The structure destroys us morally and materially. Morally, by means of its organizational and propagandistic press of lies, by means of the creation of a false elite who award prizes for opportunism, cowardice, careerism, by means of false information and universal stupefaction. Materially, through unsound and irreversible investments, through the destruction of nature, forests, the soil, through the demolition of old quarters of cities and the covering over of the country with unfeeling, standard structures, through taking away the investment-economic initiative of society and destroying this capacity in them, through the destruction of freedom of thought in every field. The structure robs us of our psychic and cultural identity, degenerates us, and we cease to be a nation.

It is this and not something else which must be made clear to the people. Just how our status quo resulted from the specific implementation of the doctrine of the "classless society" and the "dictatorship of the proleteriat" must be made clear. But this must be explained without invectives and outcries that the Russians alone are at fault, because we ourselves, society, are also seriously to blame. We need no more anti-Russianism to add fuel to the fire; enough exists already, and it is this which too easily frees us from the responsibility and the duty to fight. The crux of the matter is the structure, and the most important question, the following: how much will it yield to struggle and change, if the geopolitical situation of Europe does not yield to change, while the duty of the activity of realists is to consider the most pessimistic hypothesis. Nonetheless American minister Vance, speaking in December, 1979 in Berlin on the occasion of a decision to install a new system of NATO nuclear rockets, treated the countries of the "people's democracy," our countries, as an organic element of Russia's power, making no mention of the fact that these countries were coerced into their present position by force, that they had never been anti-American before that time. America is aware of the status quo and "cuius regio eius religio." This should make us stop and think!

Under such circumstances it would be absurd for our elitist opposition to advance the motto of "complete independence" or the idea of sovereignty. Complete independence, or an independent army and independent foreign

policy--my God, the free nations of western Europe protect themselves against this as against a plague! Our foreign policy today, carried on between two blocs, would have to lead Poland again to the situation of Josef Beck, who found himself facing the German-Russian Alliance and the fourth partition of Poland. If not to the situation of Imre Nagy, when he made the decision himself to pronounce the Warsaw Pact--the results of which are known (and may be repeated).

Of course, everything is possible in politics and history, even miracles do happen, to which we will adjust when they occur. If world war breaks out, and if Russia, or rather the Soviet Union begins to decline, then other possibilities and other mottos will emerge (and the German question will become real for us once again). Dmowski planned to go with tsarism, and when tsarism fell, he switched over to the western allies. Pilsudski went with the central states, and when he saw that the Germans were losing, he went to Magdeburg. There is always time for such gestures. However, in the present situation, in which neither the East nor the West intends to change the European status quo, only one alternative defines itself before the genuine Polish opposition: either continued sovietization, implemented through the structure and threatening our national identity, or a struggle for finlandization, or changes in our internal structure without disrupting the international situation and arousing terroristic actions by the Russians. It is as though someone had said to the Kremlin: Let us change our structure and rule in our own way, and we will still stay together with you!

Is this utopia or not? If it is utopia, then certainly it is not greater than the demand for absolute independence in an era when even the mighty FRG does not demand the unification of Germany or the liquidation of the Berlin Wall. The essence of my statements in RESPUBLICA was grasped clearly by Gustaw Herling-Grudzinski, who wrote in KULTURA that I examine the dilemma of whether the Soviet Union can be a "normal" world imperial power, or whether it must also be a "religious" (of course, the religion being that of Marxism-Leninism), ideological state, demanding structural unity from its geopolitical satellites. Of course, it is this which was my subject, the realization of the existence of this dilemma and the location of it on the calender of oppositionist considerations, not our "joint control" with the Russians or the Communists, of which I was naively accused. Can we, while remaining within the eastern bloc, into which the West forced us at Yalta and Helsinki, still remain ourselves--that is the question.

A certain polemicist stated with regard to me that there is in essence no alternative here, since the Russians will never agree to resigning from ideological-structural sovietization, which is for them the best guarantee of spiritual and physical oppression, and in this way of the automatic oppression of nations, or their state-imperial sovietization as well. Since there is no possibility that the Russians will change their view, since the motto of finlandization is equally as utopic and distant as the motto of complete independence, the advancement of another, maximalist motto by the

opposition, yet one which is nonetheless one in meaning as printed on posters, is healthier for the moral and national education of society.

I do not agree with this view either. If one of the main tasks of oppositionist political thought in Poland and in the emigration is to train cadres of free, patriotic activities, then it is important to train cadres of realists, not dreamers. Realism tells us that whatever happens we will always be Russia's neighbor, because it cannot move somewhere else--the map makes its inflexible demands. From this issues the duality of an oppositional concept I propose for the present, a duality which is, in a certain sense, preparatory: to struggle with the sovietizing structure, not prejudging our geopolitical relationship to Russia the power. This struggle is intensified psychic-cultural and social pressure, it is an attack carried on in various forms in defense of our historical personality, our way of thinking, freedom of speech, rights to internal political and economic initiatives and finally the right to choose our own structure. But this struggle, even when it is in its most intense and decisive moments, cannot degenerate into a bombastically patriotic, solitary war against Soviet imperialism, particularly when we note the complete indifference of western powers to our question (contrary to their actions in Asia), and even the West German supreme powers do not exclude discussions about finlindization from their political deliberations. Let us not be more western than the West itself, and as we fight for our spiritual personality (and only a nation who has such a personality is worthy of independence) let us not risk our physical personality prematurely...

It is from this, from the complex, ambiguous world situation that the conscious duality of Polish national thought and action which I propose must issue.

KISIEL--Stefan Kisielewski

Warsaw, January 1980

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ALLEGIANCE OF TRANSYLVANIAN GERMANS DISCUSSED

Bucharest FLACARA in Romanian 14 Feb 80 p 7

[Interview with Prof Konnerth Gerhard, Dean of the Department of Philology and History in Sibiu, by N. Grigore Marasanu]

[Text] You Can Only be a Transylvanian Saxon in the Country in Which You Were Born, Romania!

Professor Konnerth Gerhard was born in Sibiu on 24 September 1938. He attended the German language Theoretical Secondary School in Sibiu and the Department of Philology in Timisoara, from which he graduated in 1962. He has published books in the field of German language grammar; he is collaborating on a draft German-Romanian contractive grammar which is being written through collaboration between the Bucharest University and the Institute of the German Language in Mannheim, Federal Republic of Germany. He has a book entitled "Introduction to Semantics" now being published. He is a university lecturer, dean of the Department of Philology and History in Sibiu, member of the Romanian Communist Party, deputy chairman of the County Council of the Democratic Socialist Unity Front and a member of the National Council of Workers of German Nationality. He has been awarded the Tudor Vladimirescu Medal.

[Question] Esteemed Konnerth Gerhard, you are, of course, dean of the Department of Philology and History in Sibiu. How can we understand this fact, that a Saxon, a citizen who belongs to the coinhabiting German nationality, is the dean of a philology department?

[Answer] For centuries a compact group of German-speaking people have lived in the area around Sibiu. They have lived in a fraternal understanding with the Romanians and have struggled, as evidenced by history, for the same

ideals of justice and liberty. The creation in our time of a department of philology and history here in Sibiu, an ancient cultural center of Romania, is an achievement of the party in the field of practical policy for definitive resolution of the problem of the coinhabiting nationalities. Since for us Germans, just as for all the coinhabiting nationalities, all of the legal and material conditions have been created for study in our native tongue, from the first grade to completion of the university, it is quite natural, in my opinion, for me to hold such a position. It is a proof of full equality.

[Question] Does the fact that you head a department, within the framework of collective management of course, mean that this participation is equal to management of the affairs of the state?

[Answer] Yes, this is what it means. Within the framework of our broadly participative, authentic, socialist democracy, a democracy which is in the full process of improvement, particularly through practical application of the tasks of the Second Congress of the Democratic Socialist Unity Front, the German population in Romania rights and freedoms, as well as obligations, on an absolutely equal basis with all other citizens of the nation. We can effectively participate in management of the affairs of the state and in decision making regarding our common future, and we can do this in such an environment guaranteed to us that we are enthusiastic about it, that is, preservation of our specific nationality so that we are organically integrated into the great socialist collectivity of the Romanian people.

[Question] I have heard some voices which invoke a so-called "minority complex" Would you, as a German in Romania, be able to explain to me what this means?

[Answer] I personally confess that I have never heard of such a problem and, of course, since I haven't I'd be able to say, being more or less objective, that no such problem exists. But I do think that considering the diversity of human sentiments some people could have this feeling. But this feeling, if it does exist among any of us, does not lead you to a human disassociation, especially in the situation in which we, all of whom are citizens of Romania without regard to nationality, live within an absolute equality of rights. Personally, I have grown greatly in the environment of Romanian language and spirituality. Since childhood, I have had very many Romanian friends and no one at any time has treated me differently because of the simple fact that I had another mother tongue. During many difficult times in my life these Romanian friends have helped me. As the whole world knows, the Romanian has a special spiritual warmth which causes him to give his allegiance to his country, which makes him feel that he is a part of this collectivity with a greater intensity. This doesn't mean that I would be able to forget my national idenity or that something could cause me to do so!

[Question] If you hold such beliefs, how do you, as a professor, as a dean, try to pass them on to your students?

[Answer] Firstly, throughout the process of providing a multilateral, communist education and instruction for the students, by application of the tasks contained in the documents of the Twelfth Congress of the party concerning education, in our case higher education. This is a basic condition for all our activities. Taking into consideration the fact that more than half of the number of students studying in Sibiu are of German nationality, in all of the activities which we organize inside and out of the educational process we of course try to create the belief that they can preserve, cultivate and strengthen their specific national identity only within the socialist framework of their country, Romania, and that whenever they leave the country where they were born they will cease being that which they desire to preserve on a continuing basis, that is, their specific national identity as a Saxon from the Ardeal.

[Question] How do you convince them of this?

[Answer] By showing them my own conviction, a conviction created from knowledge, that you can be a Saxon from the Ardeal only in Romania, where the Ardeal has always been. Remember, the party and comrade Nicolae Ceausescu have made us accustomed to objective and responsible freedom of expression. In the spirit of this freedom of expression I propose to speak frankly, just as we have up to now, about another fact, that of the departures from Romania for good of some people. Some young people, victims of false illusions as well as the reactionay emigree propaganda, succeed in leaving the country. They settle in another country, they are crushed by the impossibility of achieving integration into the population of that particular country, and then they try to organize themselves into their own groups, groups within which they want to cultivate on a continuing basis those things which are ethnically specific to them -- the language, the conduct, the community of ideals, the manner of living. So they keep trying to remain Saxons from Transylvania, but this wish, this goal of theirs has become impossible.

[Question] Why impossible?

[Answer] Because the Transylvanian Saxon can exist and remain only within the spiritual universe of his country, the country in which he was born and in which all of the conditions have been created which are ethnically specific to him. For Saxons from the Ardeal, this country is Romania!

[Question] You know, I wouldn't want anyone to think that we are just theorizing. What other arguments support this claim?

[Answer] The thing that supports this here stems from my own interior, from my own knowledge and conviction that this is true. I was in the West and I have talked with my co-nationals who had left this country. All of

tehm complained of the great loneliness which they suffered, of the isolation and even vaccuum in which they lived. A close friend of mine told me in a moment of sincerity that where he is working now he is accepted but not integrated. Keep that in mind.

[Question] With your permission, I will keep it in mind.

[Answer] What this means is that my good friend is condemned to live in that particular country as a citizen of inferior degree. In the German language, they call that a "minderwertiger Staatsbürger," that is, a citizen of inferior value. Additionally, and this will discourage you, he has lost any hope in the future. Such a severe reality, a reality that forces them to put up with relatively harsh times, clears the illusions from the heads of many of the emigrants.

[Question] And what do they do in such a situation?

[Answer] Some of them have come back, and others are planning to come back. Most of them would come back tomorrow, but they don't have the moral strength to do it, they are ashamed. They don't want to admit the great failure in their lives!

[Question] Why do they accept such a condemnation?

[Answer] Because as long as they do not return, they don't have any other choice. So they try as much as they can to change their status as a "minderwertiger Staatsbürger." As professors, our mission, among other things, is to teach our young people, the students in whom the state and we have invested valuable material and spiritual capital, the professors of tommorow, how to avoid such a failure, so that the truths which we are talking about will be known by them in time and so that this will be clear to their children, children who will not be misled.

[Question] If I understand you properly, did I detect a sort of sorrow in your words?

[Answer] You have to feel sorrow when a man tells you of the great failure in his life: I was at a specialization meeting in the city of Mannheim (FRG) and I had a colleague there who had emigrated not long ago. All the time that I was in Mannheim, some two months, I talked to her on the telephone in the evenings. When it was necessary for me to say goodby to her, she said to me in a trembling voice: "Who am I going to talk with on the telephone now in the evenings?"

[Question] What do you think that meant?

[Answer] It is the most eloquent proof of the loneliness, the isolation that we were talking about. The physical, mental and spiritual isolation of those who I consider as people without roots. Because this is what they

become and what they remain when they emigrate -- uprooted people.

[Question] And this is in spite of the fact that, we admit, some of them are in countries that they wanted to go to because they were more developed than our own country.

[Answer] Yes, I admit that we are in a developing country, but we continue to be a people marked with a profound feeling of human solidarity, of decency, to use one of the terms cited by the secretary general of the party. This means that you shouldn't abandon your country. Let's live according to the Latin slogan "Ubi bene, ibi patria," that is, where you are happy, that is where your country is. This is why, by betraying such an interest, those who leave, who abandon the country, are guilty of treating the native population with disdain. This is why I reproach them: that they leave driven only by the thought of enriching themselves, without giving a helping hand.

[Question] It's just like when you go to a rich relative and try to have him support you completely.

[Answer] That's exactly it. I can't forget a German colleague from abroad who, during a visit he made to Romania, said to me over a drink...how do we say it:"...and although we are co-nationals, you should know that basically we don't want you in our country!" I wasn't at all happy with his admission, and I'm not pleased either at having to bring it up now, but I do so for the benefit of those who are tempted to leave Romania, their native soil, for a little bit of extra money. No one ever is going to meet you with flowers at the train station, as they say in this country. Instead, all you can expect is a great loneliness, an uprooting for all time from the place where you first saw the light of day.

[Question] What arguments do those who preach uprooting use in their propaganda?

[Answer] A false and childish argument. That is, that the German population in Romania has completed its historic mission here and, because of a "forced" integration and therefore a loss of their national identity, they say, the German population in Romania must return to the place from which they came eight centuries ago. But reality shows that the true historic mission we have is just now being realized -- the mission of realizing for our people security and material abundance, an abundance that some of them strive for and seek elsewhere, the mission of building, together with the entire Romanian people who are closely united around the party, around its secretary general, a prosperous society, a multilaterally developed socialist society, and then a communist society. The purpose of these pseudoscientific theories, as is easy to deduce, is to sow discord. But it will not work, because the Saxons in Romania live in their common fatherland, Romania, together with the Romanian people, in full equality and friendship.

[Question] Let's return to the subject of the Institute of Higher Education in Sibiu. Would you tell me about the achievements made within the department which you head?

[Answer] We have made great efforts and we have reached, in my opinion, the level of the other departments of this field in the university centers in this country. We celebrated our tenth anniversary in the fall by a wide-ranging scientific meeting which was very useful for us.

[Question] Could you tell us of the more outstanding results?

[Answer] Within the framework of the German language and literature department -- and I shall refer to this only because of the specific nature of the discussion that we have carried on up to now -- we have achieved some results which are unique in this country: by means of serious scientific research, we succeeded in publishing a first volume on the history of German literature in Romania, within the framework of a broader project. In this volume we prove that the German population in Romania has had and has an intensive spiritual life, that they have had and have the freedom to manifest this spirituality, and that it, this spiritual life, is characterized by numerous crossings throughout the centuries with the spiritual life of the Romanians. We also have other achievements, but I don't want to start to praise us right now. Instead, I like to think that we have a great and common mission and that, in freedom and friendship with the Romanian people, we are struggling -- closely united with the party -- for accomplishment of this mission, for realization of our own communist destiny.

6010
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U.S. BOOK ON MICROSTATES CRITICIZED

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 6, 20 Mar 80 pp 41-42

[Article by Constantin Vlad and Dorin Rusu: "A Political View Long Since Rejected by Life"]

[Text] The work "Microstates in World Affairs,"* by Elmer Plischke, a professor of political science at the University of Maryland, was published at the American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research in Washington, [D.C.] The work would have gone unnoticed by the foreign reader if it had not argued for anachronistic political ideas and practices long since rejected by international life. Claiming to be from the well-known school of so-called "political realism," the author asserts that there would be a basic disagreement between the people's aspirations for self-determination and the realities of international politics, that the "fascination of independence" would go beyond small states' prospects of viability. Plischke manages to call into question the concept of sovereign equality of all the states, regardless of size and power. Moreover, expressing his worry that the trend toward self-determination could continue, he asserts that the further "fragmentation" of international society "for the sake of democratization" must be stopped. In this regard, he suggests that the United States and other big powers examine the way in which the "uncontrolled" (sic!) proliferation of the small states and the microstates leads to a "critical modification of the family of nations" and affects the existing international system, in order to establish limits both to self-determination and the principles of sovereignty and to the principle of the universality of the international organizations, particularly the United Nations.

Asserting that the gaining of independence does not justify the participation of the "microstates" on an equal footing in the affairs of the international community, Elmer Plischke claims that to these states there should be accorded a status of quasi-independence, which would presuppose independent self-administration of domestic and foreign policy but not full

* Elmer Plischke, "Microstates in World Affairs. Policy Problems and Options," American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, Washington, D.C.

rights in the international forums. Revealing the "fears" of which he makes himself an exponent, the American author asserts that, since nearly all the small and very small countries are members of the Third World, and their percentage will increase further, this situation would lead to "growing claims" of the Third World in the concert of the world's nations. Consequently, in connection with the participation of the small states, including the microstates, in the international organizations, the author concludes that the basic problem is "to what extent the proliferation of the states can and must be tolerated by the global community, to what extent the community of the small states is to determine the policy and procedures of the bigger states." Starting from this so-called "basic problem," E. Plischke urges "corrective actions," which would include even the imposition of "restrictions" on the "microstates," their limitation to organizations and actions with a regional character and their exclusion from the global diplomatic agencies and forums.

It is a question, as is evident, of a direct and brutal attack on the sovereign rights of states and, implicitly, on sovereign equality as a basic principle of international law, noted as such in all the basic documents on the matter, beginning with the Charter of the United Nations.

The transformation of international relations from the predomination of the interests of the big powers to the full, complete and definitive establishment of the full equality in rights of all the states--big, middle-sized and small--constitutes a complex and contradictory process, in full swing, a process that finds its embodiment in the more and more active participation of all the states, including the small and middle-sized ones, in solving the major problems that confront the community of the world's nations, which has a special significance for the democratization of international relations and the forging of a new economic and political order on a world level.

Indeed, the growth of the role of the small and middle-sized states in international life constitutes a basic feature of history after World War II, a major result and a vivid expression of the great revolutionary changes that altered fundamentally the political map of the world in the postwar period and brought about the entry of many scores of new, independent states, formed on the ruins of the former colonial empires, into the international arena. The stronger and stronger manifestation of the small and middle-sized states on an international level bears witness to the perenniality of the nation and national state, which, far from having completed their historical mission, constitute leading factors of progress. The affirmation of the nations and national states and the vigor with which the process of formation of new nations is occurring represent an objective political premise for such basic principles of international law as national independence and sovereignty, full equality in rights, noninterference in the internal affairs of other states, the right of each people to determine its fate by itself and the right of sovereign and equal participation in international life.

The most suitable framework for the active participation of all the states, and especially the small and middle-sized states, in solving the complex problems of the contemporary world is offered by the international organizations, particularly the United Nations. Mirroring the irreversible processes of our era, the United Nations proves to be an organization with a real universal vocation, containing today nearly all the world's states, the majority of them being small and middle-sized countries, which means an important step forward toward the reflection by the United Nations of the demands for the democratization of international relations. The growth of the role of the United Nations in promoting the cause of international peace and security, in expanding the cooperation between states on all planes and in solving the great problems of the contemporary era goes hand in hand with the growing participation of all the categories of states in international life, with the strict respecting of the principles and norms of international law.

The evolution of the realities in the world in such a direction has to face the policy of force and dictation in international relations, the policy of redivision of the world and the spheres of influence, which ignore and violate the sovereignty and independence of other states. Such political practices are accompanied on an ideological level by many attempts to discredit the values that give content to the sovereign equality of the states, to justify the relations of inequality and inequity in international life, as the author of the book to which we are referring also attempts.

Reality shows that there is a basic disagreement between the people's aspirations for independent affirmation and certain international political realities. Namely, those realities that refer to the policy of perpetuating an anachronistic international order within which the full equality in rights of all the states, even if it is recognized formally, is denied in fact by means of the affirmation of the right of big powers to privileged positions in solving the world problems, by the policy of inequality and injustice in international relations, organically connected with the perpetuation and expansion of the gaps between the developed countries and the developing ones. Such a policy does indeed come into contradiction with the people's aspirations for participation on an equal footing in international life, with the demands for the democratization of international relations and the establishment of a new economic and political order in the world, for the full affirmation of the small, middle-sized and big states in the world arena. Such an affirmation is not an abstract requirement but a reality that results from the conditions of the era, from the requirements for solving the problems that confront the community of the world's nations in the interest of all the states, in the interest of the people of international peace, security and cooperation.

Precisely in this regard, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out in the report presented at the 12th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party that "the solution of the grave and complex problems in international life requires the intensification of the efforts for the democratization of the

relations between states, for the active participation of all the states in international life under conditions of full equality. Of course, we recognize the role of the big and very big countries, but today no problem can be solved any longer by just a few states. Consequently, we feel that the providing of the active participation of the small and middle-sized countries, of the developing countries, of the nonaligned countries, regardless of social order, which represent the great majority of the world and which--as life shows us--are the first that bear the consequences of international tension, in solving the problems has major significance."

This judgment corresponds fully to the contemporary realities. The changes occurring in international life indicate precisely the wider and wider affirmation of the policy of independence and sovereignty of each nation, the growth of the role of the small and middle-sized countries in the world arena.

These objective realities also become strikingly clear in the activity of the United Nations and other international organizations. As historical experience shows, the United Nations can fulfill its mission just on the condition of its universality, of the attraction of all the world's states, sovereign and independent entities, to the activity of the United Nations. Any attempt to limit the participation of states in the activity of the United Nations in accordance with different criteria, including criteria of size--as Mr Plischke wants--is contrary to the requirements for solving the problems that confront the international community with the participation of all the states. The dangers for the major interests of the peoples, for international stability and peace in the world, come by no means from the affirmation of national self-determination, from the sovereign and independent manifestation of all the states, but from the ignoring and violation of such principles, from the tendencies to ignore the sovereign rights of the peoples, from the manifestations of the old policy of force and dictation in international relations. Developing such an idea in his report to the last session of the General Assembly, the secretary general of the United Nations, Kurt Waldheim, appealed for the replacement of the policy of domination and struggle for spheres of influence with a new world order in which the international problems would be solved with the agreement and participation of all the countries, big or small.

The initiatives of Romania and Chairman Nicolae Ceausescu for promoting the role of the small and middle-sized countries in international life thus correspond to a basic direction of evolution of the contemporary world. Belonging to this category, our country has demonstrated in practice a remarkable political and diplomatic capacity precisely in the sense of effective participation in the search for solutions to the great and complex international problems. Romania's contribution to the promotion of a course of detente in Europe, and in the direction of creating a system of security and cooperation on our continent, the Romanian initiatives in the battle against underdevelopment, the proposals made and the actions directed toward the establishment of a new international economic and political order,

and the strong plea for concrete measures of military disengagement and disarmament, especially nuclear disarmament, have brought Romania high appreciation and well-deserved prestige in all corners of the globe. These are, all together, the vivid, brilliant expression of the virtues that respect for the sovereign equality of all the states, for the sovereignty and independence of the nations, confers on the foreign policy of a state firmly engaged in the struggle to promote the cause of international peace and security.

12105
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BRIEFS

PLPF'S HABASH GREETS CEAUSESCU--To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general. On behalf of the PLPF Central Committee, I want to convey to you comradely congratulations on the occasion of your reelection as president of the Socialist Republic of Romania. We wish you many successes and health. On the same occasion we want to convey best wishes for success and continuous progress to the friendly Romanian people led by you in the continuous development of the socialist society. At the same time, we express our hope that the militant relations between the PLPF and our revolution and the RCP will deepen. Long live the Palestinian-Romanian friendship. Revolutionary greetings. [Signed] Georges Habash, PLPF Secretary General. [Text] [AU081152 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 4 Apr 80 p 4 AU]

CSO: 2700

DISCOUNT PURCHASES WITH CONVERTIBLE CURRENCY ANALYZED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1521, 2 Mar 80 pp 9-10

[Article by Scepan Rabrenovic: "Yugoslav and Foreign Exchange"]

[Text] What Are All the Things Happening and Apt To Happen Following the Decision of the Federal Executive Council To Make It Possible for Individuals Who Sell Foreign Exchange to the Government To Buy Certain Products and Dwellings More Cheaply?

Do you perhaps have foreign exchange in a postal savings account or in a bank account? If you do, as of 1 March you will be able to earn something on it. Moreover, you will not have to do anything--it will be enough merely to sell that foreign exchange to the government and stop in at the first store with the certificate to that effect. On the basis of that certificate merchants are required to sell you a whole range of goods at a discount of 8 or 14 percent depending on the level of the basic turnover tax on the various products, and you will even be able to buy a dwelling.

If, for example, you had in mind buying the smallest model of Fiat, you will save 3,536 dinars, for a Stojadin you will pay about 12,000 dinars less (depending on the model), for a Golf about 16,000 less, and for a Renault 18 all of 20,000 dinars less.

Perhaps you will not have to wait for the car after you make your payment, since the Federal Executive Council has recommended that work organizations speed up deliveries to customers holding certificates that they have sold foreign exchange to the government. The same will be the case, it is said, with dwellings--either newly constructed or vacant.

But it also appears that you will be able to earn something on the foreign exchange in another way, aside from selling them to the government. On Saturday, that is, representatives of the Federal Secretariat for Finance informed newsmen in a press conference which products will be available for purchase on the basis of those certificates and the size of the discounts, while on Monday the price of the West German mark already stood at 14

dinars--or about 2.5 dinars above the official rate and about 2 dinars higher than it was sold in private clearing arrangements at the beginning of February.

The first agreements on release of the certificates for foreign exchange which has been sold were concluded the same day. For compensation, of course. Thus this decision--incidentally, like all administrative decisions--has given rise to numerous dodges on the black market. It is true that these private exchange operations were already in existence, but in coming months, so long as the decision of the Federal Executive Council remains in effect, their turnover will be higher.

As Much Foreign Exchange as Dinars

What were all the motives of the Federal Executive Council in adopting a decision like this? First of all, there was the unfavorable situation with the balance of payments. Last year, we recall, the deficit in the balance of payments was about threefold greater than planned. In the first 1.5 months of this year, though exports increased, the situation is not much improved: if present relations between exports and imports persist to the end of the year, the payments deficit would be twice as large as planned.

It cannot be said of the Federal Executive Council that it has not made efforts to change the ratio between exports and imports, but it is quite certain that regardless of the extent of those efforts, changes that would essentially diminish the deficit in the balance of payments cannot be expected soon. Moreover, the problems have accumulated for years in this area, and it will take patience to identify and solve them one by one. (Provided, of course, that numerous administrative measures are not resorted to.)

At the beginning of the year the balances of foreign exchange accounts and savings accounts of individuals amounted to about $6.7 billion. (Approximately the same total as for dinar savings.) These are enormous sums even for richer and more advanced countries than ours.

Where do our citizens obtain so much foreign exchange? Most comes from remittances of Yugoslavs temporarily employed abroad. To be sure, some of the remittances households convert to dinars at the official rate to cover their everyday needs, since under our laws transactions cannot be conducted within the country in foreign exchange.

The legal statutes, however, are not being respected in private transactions. In those regions from which the workers abroad tend to originate, for example, even food (such as dairy products) is being bought and sold for foreign exchange on peasant markets, and foreign exchange is being used to pay for dwellings and land.

Foreign exchange obtained in this way, as well as the portion which the households of workers abroad put aside for savings, are part of those $6.7 billion. Then there are the private exchange operations which have their greatest turnover during the annual or New Year's vacations of workers employed abroad temporarily.

A part of the foreign exchange in postal savings accounts and bank accounts, indeed no small portion, comes from tourism. That is, in tourist areas individuals collect for services rendered to foreign tourists in foreign exchange, but they "do not declare" all that foreign exchange. According to figures of the Tourist Alliance of Yugoslavia, about $400 million remain in the country every year in this way.

The safety of the deposit (it is guaranteed by the government) and also the higher rates of interest are reasons why our workers abroad keep their foreign exchange in our banks rather than foreign banks, and this is also the explanation as to the origin of so much private exchange in the country. In addition, half of the total $6.7 billion is in time deposits--mostly deposited against the purchase of a dwelling.

Not Motivated by Patriotism

When all these figures are known, then the desire of the Federal Executive Council to siphon at least a portion of this foreign exchange into the state treasury is quite understandable. No patriotic appeal whatsoever was made to individuals to convert their foreign exchange to dinars at the official rate; there would have been little response to such appeals, since it is rare for money to be moved by patriotism. It would seem that this was done in the best way: individuals were given an economic motive to sell their foreign exchange to the government.

Spokesmen of the Federal Executive Council in fact say that this is nothing new. That is, even in the past Yugoslavs have had the right to purchase goods for foreign exchange within the country, but only goods of foreign origin, from bonded warehouses. In practice this means that by purchasing the foreign goods the individuals were encouraging imports. It is true that the government benefited from this, since the taxes and duties on such goods were high.

All of this, it is calculated, is less than if individuals purchased domestic goods for foreign exchange. This accounts for the decision whereby the government relinquishes the basic turnover tax to make domstic goods cheaper for those who have foreign exchange.

Or in practical terms: if our manufacturers are not competitive on markets where foreign exchange is used, to indirectly create for them such a market in the country.

[Top box, p 10]

Advantages for Small Business

A list of products which will be available for sale at discounts of 8 or 14 percent is very long: from building materials, household appliances, automobiles, hunting equipment and weapons, to dwellings. The condition is that all the products be of domestic origin or produced in cooperative arrangements with foreign partners. However, the decision did not overlook giving an incentive to small business: individuals will be able to buy more cheaply goods they need for private shops in the crafts and trades as well as places of business to perform their activity as self-employed individuals. Private farmers, on the other hand, if they sell foreign exchange to the government, will be able to buy agricultural machines and tools more cheaply. Even in the past those returning from temporary employment abroad have enjoyed reductions when they imported tools and implements for carrying on a craft or trade as self-employed individuals (lower duties, for example), but now those who hold foreign exchange in the country and who intend to open shops will be on a par with them.

What will be the upshot of this decision? No one at present is able to answer that question. For one thing, the right covered by the decision is not yet being used. But it is certain that the drop in price, which is not small, will be a stimulative challenge.

Yet one thing is known even now: the amount of foreign exchange which will flow into the government treasury will depend first of all on the domestic economy's ability to satisfy customers. It is not just a question of quality, many of our products are already on a par with the best foreign products, but there are other terms and conditions, of which the most important is the date of delivery.

It is therefore no accident that the Federal Executive Council has recommended that work organizations give advantages to these customers when it comes to delivery dates. There will probably be no waiting for automobiles, nor will there be a wait for furniture, but the ultimate result of this decision would be effected to the utmost if there were no wait for dwellings. In that case it is certain that many of those who have placed their foreign exchange in time deposits to buy a dwelling would immediately sell their foreign exchange to the government even at the price of dissolving the contract as to withdrawal of the money.

But where is a dwelling to be found? The system of housing construction guided by social compacts and accords has for several years eliminated the construction of dwellings for the market, and it is well known that in the past even bundles of "cash" foreign currency have been powerless as far as obtaining a dwelling is concerned.

Not Only the Law

Dilemmas as to whether this order of the Federal Executive Council is legal or not were brushed aside by representatives of the Federal Secretariat for Finance at the press conference already mentioned: the goods and durables will not be sold directly for foreign exchange, but for dinars on the basis of the certificate that the foreign exchange has been sold to the government, which means that the order is not unlawful.

Yet it is another question as to whether the holders of foreign exchange acquire privileges over holders of dinars under this order. This particularly applies to those holders of foreign exchange whom society, as in the tourist areas, has granted preferential interest rates and other incentives in order to provide them conditions for successful operation. But it also applies to those who would obtain foreign exchange through the private currency exchanges.

Most of the objections have concerned privileges which have to do with delivery dates, especially in the case of dwellings: when someone has been paying a contribution for housing construction for years, he will resent it if the lists made up for allocation of dwellings are pushed back further into the drawer. Preferential delivery dates for goods or for the purchase of an apartment are to be explained by the fact that the price of the mark experienced such a sharp rise on the private currency exchanges in just 3 days: there are quite a few who would pay even more to obtain a certificate which guaranteed them a privilege in making a purchase.

It seems that in all this the dinar will suffer the greatest trials: it will become thinner and will move further from convertibility.

[Bottom box, page 10]

Yugoslav Foreign Exchange Market (figures as of 25 February)

Country	Currency	Amount	Average Rate of Exchange in Dinars (average from previous week)
Austria	Schilling	100	160.4063
Belgium	Franc	100	70.8389
Denmark	Krone	100	368.2145
Finland	Markha	100	539.7268
France	Franc	100	490.9485
Holland	Gulden	100	1,042.7044
Italy	Lira	100	2.4825
Norway	Krone	100	410.9663
Germany	Mark	100	1,149.7775
Spain	Peseta	100	30.1192

Country	Currency	Amount	Average Rate of Exchange in Dinars (average from previous week)
Switzerland	Franc	100	1,234.6353
Sweden	Krona	100	481.9207
Great Britain	Pound	1	46.1318
Iraq	Dinar	1	67.4937
Japan	Yen	100	8.2929
Kuwait	Dinar	1	73.4990
Canada	Dollar	1	17.2359
United States	Dollar	1	19.9948
Australia	Dollar	1	22.1263

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BRIEFS

KOSOVO VETERANS OFFICIALS--At its fifth expanded session held in Pristina today, the Provincial Committee of the Veterans Federation of Kosovo discussed a report on the work of the organization, elected new officials and adopted a new statute and new tasks of the organization. A new presidium of 15 members was elected. Mehmet Malici was elected the first chairman with a 1-year term of office, while Milutin Folic was elected secretary of the Provincial Committee of the Veterans Federation. [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 28 Mar 80 p 6 AU]

YUGOSLAV-IRAQI YOUTH COOPERATION--In Belgrade on 29 March, at the headquarters of the "People's Technology of Yugoslavia," an agreement was signed on cooperation in the field of scientific-technical education between the Iraqi Ministry of Youth and the "People's Technology of Yugoslavia." The agreement envisages cooperation between the Iraqi youth and the "People's Technology of Yugoslavia" in training cadres for scientific-technical education, the participation of the youth of the two countries in reviews, competitions and other shows in the field of scientific-technical creative work and in exchange of information, plans and equipment that contribute to a mass scientific-technical education of youth. The delegation of the Iraqi Ministry of Youth was received by Aleksandar Orlandic, president of the conference of the "People's Technology of Yugoslavia." [Text] [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 30 Mar 80 p 3 AU]

NOVI TRAVNIK RENAMED--On 11 April, delegates and guests of a joint session of all councils of the communal assembly and of sociopolitical organizations of Novi Travnik welcomed with applause the decision that the town be renamed and be given the name of revolutionary and people's hero Djuro Pucar. [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 12 Apr 80 p 1 AU]

KOSOVO CULTURE DAYS--The Kosovo Provincial Community for Culture and the Kosovo Secretariat for Information will organize days of Kosovo culture in Damascus and Amman from 14-28 April. Thus, the public of Syria and Jordan will be able to acquaint itself with the cultural achievements of the Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, Turks and Moslems from Kosovo. A Kosovo folk ensemble will participate in an international folklore festival in Iraq. [Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 10 Apr 80 p 4 AU]

NEW WEEKLY BY 'BORBA'--A new weekly, NOVOSTI 8, issued by BORBA, is appearing in Belgrade today. The magazine among other things carries an interview with Mika Spiljak, president of the Confederation of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia Council. The president of the Confederation of Trade Unions Council has answered many questions. He talks about whether he will remain in the trade union organization after the expiration of his present term of office or whether he will change to some other function. Mika Spiljak also speaks about his activities in the trade union Presidium, about the experiences in the implementation of Comrade Tito's initiative on collective work in the Confederation of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia Council, and other important changes which have arisen in the past 5 years. Mika Spiljak also answers a question on the world trade union gathering to discuss the trade unions and development problems in the world, which will be held in Belgrade toward the end of the month, as well as several other questions including those concerning the results of talks with the Soviet trade union representatives. [Text] [AU041001 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0300 GMT 4 Apr 80 AU]

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WORLDWIDE REPORT: Epidemiology
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